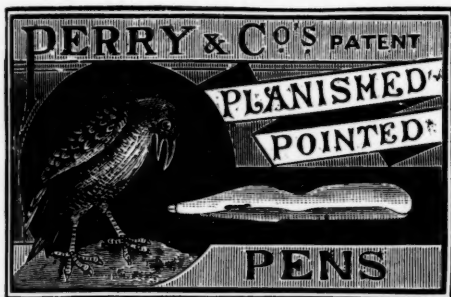


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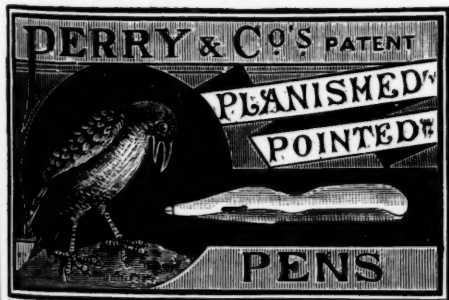
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ART. I.—MR. GLADSTONE ON THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION.

MR. GLADSTONE has lately published an interesting article* on the "Elizabethan Settlement of Religion." It is needless to say that it is characterized by the clearness of statement and rhetorical power of this distinguished writer. It is not wonderful that it has been accepted by those who desire to see his thesis maintained, as presenting the facts in a candid and precise form, undisturbed by any immediate controversial interests. This is the comment of the *Guardian* newspaper of July 4, which, whilst it acknowledges that Mr. Gladstone "is sometimes impelled to rush into controversies that do not concern him, and to pronounce on them with insufficient knowledge and preparation," declares that this, "his latest effort, will surprise, by its legal precision and accurate knowledge, no one who remembers" his pamphlet on the "Royal Supremacy." Mr. Gladstone always writes with such persuasiveness that it is not to be wondered at that his accuracy should be taken for granted. We would venture, however, to say that in the present case, instead of "legal precision and accurate knowledge," Mr. Gladstone's statement of the facts on which he builds his argument is singularly remarkable for its inaccuracy.

It is a curious thing to be able to say, when discussing a paper written avowedly on points of history, and on nothing else, that it scarcely contains a single historical statement that is not inaccurate; yet this is what we are obliged to say of Mr. Gladstone's article. Before proceeding to examine each inaccurate statement

* *The Nineteenth Century*, for July 1888.

in detail, let us for clearness, sake enumerate the inaccuracies we shall have to examine. They are then :—

1. The changes that brought about the renunciation of the authority of the Pope “were not acts of the State forced upon the Church but acts of the Church herself” (p. 4).

2. “There was a widespread aversion of the clergy, in its different ranks, to the working prerogatives of the Roman See, which may be referred in part to impatience of taxation, but which obtained even with some of its highest, purest, and ablest members” (p. 9). These last words are explained by our next quotation.

3. A basis of legality, in its determining conditions, for the proceedings of the Reformation, was laid . . . before Cranmer and the reforming prelates had mounted into seats of power, and claims the authority of Warham, of Tunstall, of Gardiner, and (not to mention many others) even of Fisher (p. 5).

4. There were legislative “acts of the governing body in the Church, done within its lawful competency under Henry the Eighth,” which retained their ecclesiastical force through all subsequent reigns (p. 6). This is the early part of a cluster of inaccuracies, the latter portion of which appears in number 9.

5. The words, *unicus et supremus dominus*, applied to the King by Convocation without any limiting clause, exclude the Pope’s headship of the Church, and, without raising any scruple about Christ’s headship, recognize the King’s.

6. The limiting words, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, cannot be understood [that is, cannot have been understood by those who proposed or accepted them] as annulling the whole force of the phrase, *supremum caput* (p. 6).

7. The words, “supreme head,” meant, then, in 1531 what they meant a little later. Mr. Gladstone does not say this in so many words, but he assumes it throughout.

8. In further proof of the sentiments of the clergy with respect to papal jurisdiction, Mr. Gladstone refers to “their perfectly voluntary, if suggested, petition in Convocation during the year 1531, for the abolition of Annates or Episcopal first-fruits” (p. 8). This sentence contains almost as many inaccuracies as it has words.

9. Under Mary “there was no doctrinal and no legislative action of the Convocations : there was no attempt to disturb the proceedings of 1531 or 1534” (p. 10). Thus Elizabeth “found in full force, as ecclesiastical declarations and enactments, the synodical acts of the reign of her father” (p. 10). This is the later statement of the group of inaccuracies which are commenced in number 4.

10. It is asserted by Lingard that [under Elizabeth] they presented a petition to the House of Lords declaring, among other things, belief in the papal supremacy. On reference to the records we find that the allegation is radically erroneous (p. 11.) The error is not in Lingard but in Mr. Gladstone.

11. The Anglican bishops and clergy under Henry the Eighth, and before the accession of Cranmer, the divorce, and the remarriage with

Anne Boleyn, believed themselves entitled to deal with . . . the ordinary jurisdiction of the Pope (p. 13).

12. The Episcopal succession through Parker is unassailable up to this point, that it did not displace any legitimate possessors or claimants of any of the Sees (p. 12).

We may now begin at the beginning, and willingly acknowledge that we are concerned only with an historical investigation. Mr. Gladstone wisely lays aside the theological aspects of the discussion, at the same time that he naturally betrays his own theological bias. But he very fairly enumerates the theological points, which for argument's sake he passes over, an adverse decision upon which, he candidly acknowledges, would utterly neutralize the force of his historical inquiry. The theological propositions, which if proved against the Church of England would be fatal to her claim of continuity or identity with the Catholic Church before the Reformation, are stated by him thus (p. 4) :—

1. By changes of doctrine she altered the one perpetual Christian faith and became heretical.

2. By changes of rite, she failed to fulfil the sacramental communion of the Church, and her ordinance, or vital portions of them, became ineffectual or invalid.

3. By changes of law she destroyed the jurisdiction of the Roman See in England, which, as being divine, it was beyond her power lawfully to touch, and she thus became schismatical.

With these three propositions, as properly theological, Mr. Gladstone in his article is not concerned; his sole purpose is the discussion of a proposition which affects not the nature of the changes made, but the nature of the authority which made them. The objection that he proposes to answer is, that the theological changes in question were "not made by the Church at all, but that they were made without or against her by the action of the civil power, which, as such, was incompetent to act in the matter, and that the changes were therefore null." His object, then, is properly historical, and it is, "without prejudice to any portion of the subject, to establish the negative of this proposition, and to show that in the last and determining resort, the changes in question were not acts of the State forced upon the Church, but acts of the Church herself, which supply the key to her juridical position, held ever since down to the present day."

Mr. Gladstone tells us that "a cloud of vague misrepresentation has, down to a recent period, overlain the facts." No systematic effort, he says, has been made to clear the ground even by Burnet and Collier, and he prides himself on the novel discovery, which, he truly says, will probably be "matter of surprise to most readers," that the "basis of legality in its determin-

ing conditions for the proceedings of the Reformation," is due, not to Cranmer and the reforming prelates, but to Warham and Tunstall, to Gardiner, and even to Fisher. We follow Mr. Gladstone in confining ourselves strictly to this limited field of historical inquiry.

Mr. Gladstone's position is that the Reformation was legally established by the Church herself in England, and that it was not forced upon the Church by the State. And yet his first proof curiously begins with the statement that, "in 1531, Henry VIII., by legal chicane, entangled the clergy in the penalties of *Præmunire* for having acknowledged the legatine jurisdiction of Wolsey. . . . From the clergy he demanded (1) a great subsidy; and (2) the unconditional and unlimited acknowledgment of his headship over the Church" (p. 6). If Mr. Gladstone had wished to prove that the Church was being forced by the State, could he well have found a better argument? The penalties of *Præmunire* rendered each member of both Houses of the Convocation liable to imprisonment at the king's pleasure, and to the forfeiture of all their goods. The screw was as powerful as it could be, and it was in remorseless hands. The members of Convocation fully understood how thoroughly they were in the king's power. No one of them was safe for a moment without the Royal Pardon. That pardon had to be bought, and they were willing to pay for it a heavy price. They voted the king a subsidy of £100,044 8s. 8d., moderately estimated at a million of our money, as a mark of their gratitude to the king who had defended the "Universal Church, of which we are most humble members, most zealously with his pen and with costly wars, and had bound to him the whole Church of Christ, and these his subjects more in particular; and now, more especially, as became the pious Defender of the Faith and of the Church, he had repressed her enemies, especially the Lutherans, who were conspiring to the injury of the Church and clergy of England * and were maligning the fame and the persons of the prelates and the clergy,"† and they trust that the Defender of the Faith will grant a general pardon and grace for all penalties incurred by them (they do not say how) under the Statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire*.

This subsidy was carried in Convocation on January 24, 1531.‡ On February 7, Archbishop Warham, after an interview with the king's councillors and justices, proposed for discussion in the Convocation five articles added to the preface of the concession of the subsidy, with the first only of which we are now concerned. That first article was that, after the words "of the Church and clergy

* Here the parenthesis of the Royal Supremacy was ultimately introduced.

† Wilkins, iii. p. 742.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 725.

of England," there should be inserted "whose Protector and Supreme Head he (the king) alone is." On the following day the king's justices exhibited a copy of the exceptions made in the king's general pardon which was to be granted in consideration of the subsidy, the justices declaring that they were not empowered to conclude the matter until the bishops and clergy had come to a conclusion on the first article. The recognition of the king's supremacy, as stated in that article, did not please the bishops and clergy, who demanded that it should be modified. For three subsequent sessions discussion was carried on with the Privy Council how they could induce the king to permit them to express that article in milder words. At last the king sent them a message by Viscount Rochford insisting on the insertion of the words, "whose Protector and Supreme Head, after God, he only is," and refused further communication with the Convocation on the point. On the 9th the justices came and demanded an answer on the articles, the king refusing to accept any modification. The Lower House asked for more time for discussion. The next day, after an attempt made by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Exeter to see the king, and after long discussions on the articles, Lord Rochford appeared and demanded a full answer. The prolocutor asserted that the clergy had not yet agreed. At last, on February 11, Archbishop Warham proposed that the article on the king's supremacy should be in these words: "of the Church and clergy of England, whose singular protector, sole and supreme lord, and as far as the law of Christ allows, also supreme head, we recognize his Majesty." When Warham asked the consent of the bishops he said, *Qui tacet consentire videtur*; and some one answered, "Then we are all silent;" and so both Houses unanimously subscribed this article. Such is the narrative taken from the Journal of Convocation. Let us now see what use Mr. Gladstone makes of it.

Perhaps it is hardly worth noticing that, according to Mr. Gladstone, Archbishop Warham "was answered, 'Then we are all silent.'" Burnet had written before him, "They cried out," but his editor has corrected him by the note, "It was only one. *Quidam respondebat*." The historian should be careful in the way he states his facts; but of course no one dreams of denying that all the members of that Convocation were responsible for their silence.

What was it that they allowed thus to pass without a contradicting voice? It was, that in the sentence of the concession of their subsidy, after their praises of the king for the benefits conferred by him on the universal Church, and for the particular advantage conferred upon the Church of England by his royal zeal against Lutheranism, a parenthesis should be inserted when

the Church of England was named, giving him the title he coveted in the form on which they ultimately agreed.

Now be it remembered that Mr. Gladstone is not putting forward the moral, but the legal, force of these words. How can Mr. Gladstone consider a statement parenthetically made to be a legal enactment of the governing body in the Church? Would he hold a similar parenthesis in a judge's sentence to be more than an *obiter dictum*, or was there ever a law from any legislator whatsoever, the enacting portion of which was in like form? Yet this is Mr. Gladstone's sole position. He contents himself with a pure argument upon law. What law does he find here? He calls it a declaratory law; but no declaration deserves the name of law unless it be the authentic declaration of a legislator as to the force and meaning of his own law. All other declarations are but expressions of opinion.

We will now follow Mr. Gladstone in an examination of the terms employed in this important parenthesis. The sentence, he rightly says, branches into three divisions. According to the commencing words, the king is the *singularis protector* of the Church, and he adds that these words "hardly affect the question at issue, as they seem manifestly to refer to action in the exterior forum." The rightful meaning of the words *singularis protector* cannot be far to seek; and it is hard to see why they should not be regarded as perfectly synonymous with the title conferred on the king by the Pope of Defender of the Faith. To defend and protect are much the same thing.

The next limb of the sentence declares the Sovereign to be the *unicus et supremus dominus* of the Church. Mr. Gladstone says that "these words, which excited no scruple on the part either of the prelates or of the clergy, appear to indicate with great precision the idea of the relation between the Church and the Sovereign, as it has been conceived in English law" (p. 7).

It is fatal to Mr. Gladstone's assumption that the words should mean this, when, according to his own statement, they excited no scruple on the part of the prelates and the clergy. Mr. Gladstone is even understating it when he says thus much. The words in question are not found in the original draft of the parenthesis, nor are they in the form brought by Lord Rochford to the convocation as the king's *ultimatum*. They are inserted, as far as it appears, by Warham and by the Convocation that had sat so many days contesting the royal supremacy with the king's Privy Councillors and Justices. It is therefore plain that they can only mean that the King of England was their supreme feudal lord; and of course the only one, as no one had ever dreamt of attributing such a position to the Pope. In Mr. Gladstone's opinion these words were inserted to exclude the Papal and all extraneous

jurisdiction, without the use of terms which would seem to derogate from Christ's supreme headship over the Church. He has not noticed that the *ultimatum*, of which Lord Rochford was the bearer, had provided for this very scruple by the insertion of the words "after God" in the title of the king's supreme headship; and that these words "after God" were not adopted by the Convocation, as they evidently exclude the Pope. As for the Papal jurisdiction, it is by no means clear that it was at that time specifically under consideration at all, as we shall see when we come to the conclusion of the parenthesis. Meanwhile, it is absurd to suppose that the title of feudal lordship had anything to do with the exclusion of the spiritual jurisdiction of any one whatever. It was one title more with which they thought they could please the king; and they were safe in giving it, as the term *dominus* no more trenching on their spiritual authority than did the previous term *protector*.

And now let us remark the great peculiarity of Mr. Gladstone's position. He looks upon himself as a discoverer; the legal force of these words has never been perceived before. To him it matters little that Henry himself should have written a long letter in justification of the titles employed by the Convocation of Canterbury, and had never found out that these words indicated what Mr. Gladstone supposes.

It does not concern Mr. Gladstone that there should be no trace of his interpretation, "even in works so important, because of having been largely drawn from the fountain-heads of information as those of Burnet and Collier." All this is part of the "cloud of vague misrepresentation," which it is the business of Mr. Gladstone to dissipate. This really means that a Church lawyer has arisen at last, and that the legal force of words, which has been hitherto unperceived, is to be now fixed with precision, though the Convocation that used them had no thought of such a meaning, nor even the king that accepted them.

We now come to the third and last clause of the parenthesis: "And, as far as the law of Christ allows, we recognize his Majesty to be also Supreme Head." Mr. Gladstone's observation is, that the "limiting words apply to the term of headship" only. Is it to be supposed for a moment that they would not have been extended to the preceding phrase, if it had meant what this phrase means? He adds that, "though they are important words, they cannot be understood as annulling the whole force of the phrase." That will surely depend on the belief of those who used them as to what was the law of Christ in the matter. They were suggested directly against the king's wish by such prelates as Warham and Fisher, who, seeing that the Convocation would probably be so intimidated that it would accept the king's new

title, did their utmost to check the evil. It was a poor remedy, it is true, for "what was there to prevent the advocates of the Royal Supremacy from pushing it to any extreme, on the grounds that it was not forbidden to do so by the Law of Christ? And this was what really happened, and was foreseen as likely to happen; and some better safeguard should have been provided than an elastic or disputable clause."* Fisher's latest biographer speaks of him as consenting to adopt the obnoxious title, with a clause that made it tolerable, rather than that, standing aloof, he should leave the clergy to give a title without a clause to indicate its dangerous character.

To the same book we must refer our reader for an excellent argument to show that in 1531 the question before the minds of the clergy had as yet no explicit bearing on the authority of the Holy See. People have naturally interpreted by subsequent history the words then used. The title of Supreme Head was in a very short time put into such direct opposition to the authority of the Pope, that in 1534 the assertion of the one was invariably accepted as identical with the rejection of the other. But in 1531 this point, though visible enough to outsiders, such as Chapuys, the Emperor's ambassador, was not directly before the minds of the members of Convocation.

For this view we may quote an authority that Mr. Gladstone will not despise, who uses words that Mr. Gladstone with his theory before his eyes could not use. Bishop Stubbs, in his valuable Historical Appendix to the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts' Commission" (p. 36), says that in 1531—

The king had not formally broken off his relations with the Pope; and it is quite certain that neither Warham, Fisher, nor More would have accepted the words if they had necessarily implied a renunciation of papal authority. This was probably understood to be covered by the words of compromise, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, which each party might for the time interpret in their own way, and Warham and More might interpret as implying no greater negation of papal power than was immemorially part of the legal system of England. But the idea of the supremacy, after the formal vote in 1533, that the Pope has by Holy Scripture no greater power in England than any other foreign bishop, was very much extended. . . . The definition [in the Statute of Appeals], which is clearly the work of the king himself. . . . could not have been accepted by Warham and More, and could not be pressed upon the clergy as an explanation of their form of recognition without the additional negation of papal authority.

Archbishop Warham died in August, 1532, and in the prece-

* "Life of Bd. John Fisher," p. 208. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. London: 1888.

ding February he protested "that he could not consent to any statute passed in the Parliament derogatory to the rights of the Apostolic See, or to the subversion of the laws, privileges, prerogatives, pre-eminence, or liberties of the Metropolitan See of Canterbury."* Mr. Gladstone is surprised that the Archbishop did not extend his protest to the proceedings in Convocation. It is strange that he does not perceive that he furnishes here a very strong argument, drawn from the conduct of the man who had presided, that what had passed in Convocation did not carry the same meaning as that which had passed in Parliament.

In the letter of Henry VIII. to Bishop Tunstall, we have a singular proof of this view of the sense then ostensibly attaching to the words. The Convocation of York had, under the guidance of the Bishop of Durham, as the metropolitan See of York was vacant, demurred to the use of the titles employed by the Convocation of Canterbury in the famous parenthesis. Henry writes to persuade them to follow the example of the southern province; and not only all through his letter is there no word against the authority of the Pope, but several phrases are employed that assume it. The Pope is even called the *Caput Ecclesie*; and the king's argument is that though the title is used absolutely and without qualification, every one understands it as not clashing with Christ's Headship of the Church. So the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England," may well be given to Henry himself, without fear of his taking therefrom anything more than the superiority that rightly belongs to all kings. In other places of the letter the Pope is spoken of without a shade of disrespect, as "when we write to the Pope *Sanctissimo*, we mean not holier than St. Peter, though it sounds so;" and again, "why else doth the Pope suffer any other besides himself to be called *Archbishop*, seeing that he himself indeed challengeth to be *Princeps Apostolorum et episcoporum* in Peter's stead, which the name of an Archbishop utterly denieth, but by addition of the country they save the sense." That is, an Archbishop may be so called if his local See is added, as then it does not deny that the Pope is *Princeps episcoporum*.†

It is true that Mr. Gladstone protests that "the mitigatory explanations tendered by Henry VIII. in 1531 to the clergy respecting the headship are only of importance in so far as they may have affected the conduct of prelates or others in the Convocation, and cannot govern the legal and constitutional meaning of the documents." But we have already seen that the Convocation passed no law, but only used a title, and surely the "mitigatory explanations" of the king must be of the

* Wilkins, iii, p. 746.

† *Ibid.* pp. 762-765.

highest importance in determining what was then meant by that title.*

Mr. Gladstone makes a most surprising statement respecting Blessed John Fisher. He says—and it is almost incredible that he should say it—that “after the Act of Headship had been passed by Parliament in 1534, and the Oath of Succession was framed by the king so as to include the headship, *Fisher took it*” (p. 8). While many refused the oath of the king’s supremacy, there are two men at least of whom it can be positively asserted that they did not and would not take the oath of succession, and these two were More and Fisher. As to Fisher, his second Act of Attainder (26 Hen. VIII. c. 22) expressly recites that: “Forasmuch as John, Bishop of Rochester [and others], contrary to the duties of allegiance, intending to sow sedition, murmur and grudge within the realm among the king’s loving and obedient subjects, *by refusing the oath of succession*, since the 1st of May . . . be it enacted that the above be attainted of misprision of treason, and shall suffer the penalties.” “Both he [More] and the Bishop of Rochester refused it,” says Burnet,† whose authority should satisfy Mr. Gladstone, as he quotes him‡ in proof of his statement.

Mr. Gladstone sums up with his usual rhetorical skill:—“Upon the whole, it appears that the recognition of 1531 was a solemn instrument of the kind known as declaratory; that it was no mere submission to violence, but the result of communications ending in a deliberate arrangement; that it was followed in and after 1534 by the less formal, but even wider, acknowledgments of the episcopal body at large; and, while some allowance must be made for royal pressure, that it was expressive of that aversion to the papal jurisdiction which had spread generally among the English clergy, and which was altogether distinct from the desire

* Bishop Stubbs is far from agreeing with Mr. Gladstone in thinking this letter irrelevant as to the meaning of the title admitted by Convocation. “This explanation,” he says, “is very important as Henry’s own interpretation of the title he assumed.” The learned Bishop has hardly given full consideration to the passages in the king’s letter respecting the Pope which are quoted in the text, for he falls short of the truth in saying that the letter “is curiously reticent on the point in which at the moment the title was most important—that is, the exclusion of the Papal authority as supreme” (“Ecclesiastical Courts Commission,” p. 36). The Bishop means that it is curious that the letter does not repudiate the Pope, but it is surely much more curious to find it speaking of him in the natural way in which he had always previously been spoken of.

† Burnet’s “History,” ed. Pocock, vol. i. p. 257.

‡ Under the reference i. 206. This passage cannot be found, nor a corroborative word in Sander or “The Letters and Papers,” which are also referred to in Mr. Gladstone’s note in support of his assertion respecting Fisher.

for doctrinal reformation" (p. 8). Not so Mr. Gairdner, whom Mr. Gladstone apparently does not recognize, as he quotes the volume edited by him as the late Mr. Brewer's.

Even with the reservation contained in the words *quantum per Christi legem licet*, the concession was made with considerable reluctance; but at the Archbishop's suggestion, it was passed unanimously. It was repented almost as soon as it was made; for, however theoretically defensible might be the title to which they had agreed, and whatever pains they might have taken to guard against misconstruction, the clergy could not but feel the moral disadvantage at which they now stood in having yielded anything at all. Yet they were altogether helpless. Under the existing law of *Præmunire* they were quite at the king's mercy. It was an engine that might be turned against them capriciously on the most slender pretexts; and, knowing its power, they might well have been glad to purchase immunity for the future by a frank recognition of that supremacy to which they were already compelled to bow in practice.*

So far from summing up as Mr. Gladstone sums up, it would be more in accordance with historical truth to say that the recognition of the royal supremacy is as little like a solemn instrument as it possibly could be; that it was extorted from the clergy to save them from destruction; that it was most reluctantly passed after several days' resistance; and that, when passed, it was with a qualifying clause that at the least made it disputable.

"It is not at first sight plain," says Mr. Gladstone, "why to the grant of the subsidy should have been tacked the acknowledgment of the headship. There was no ostensible plea for the introduction of the subject. There was not a single reforming bishop on the bench." Such are, naturally, difficulties in Mr. Gladstone's way, who wishes to make out that a declaration of the king's supremacy was a voluntary act on the part of the Convocation; but an unbiassed reader of the documents cannot fail to see that the clergy offered their subsidy as a bribe for a general pardon, and that the King replied that his supremacy must be recognized as a part of the price. The clergy flattered themselves that they *had* given it, and yet *had not* given it in consequence of their qualifying clause; but Henry ends by quoting the Convocation as having assented to his supremacy without qualification. The clergy found that it is not easy to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds; but there is no ground whatever for saying with Mr. Gladstone that the parenthesis in the concession of the subsidy "was expressive of that aversion to the papal jurisdiction which had spread generally among the English clergy." What proof is there of such aversion?

* "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. v. p. 15.

Now it is exactly because Mr. Gladstone's mind is filled with this prepossession that the English clergy of that time were really averse to the Pope and to his authority that he comes to make his next mistake. He reads a paper utterly unlike any document that had ever up to that time emanated from Convocation. It is so violently anti-papal that no one who is really familiar with the temper of Convocation could fail to see that Strype, who has been blindly copied by Wilkins, was egregiously wrong in heading it "an address from the Convocation to the King." The document, which Strype has copied from the Cottonian Collection,* is simply called in the catalogue "A paper against the payment of Annates to Rome." The original has no heading nor endorsement, unless the words on the back "*Capita rerum*" could be so called. The records of Convocation may be searched in vain for any mention of it. Mr. Gairdner,† making reference to Strype and Wilkins, as well as to the Cottonian original, calls it "a petition from *Parliament* to the King to abolish Annates exacted by the Pope." A controversialist might make use of Strype's heading and attribute this document to the clergy, but it is wonderful to find any one claiming to write as an historical student who could bring himself to do so. Mr. Gladstone goes so far as to call it a "perfectly voluntary, if suggested, petition by Convocation in the year 1531." The document has no date, and it would be extremely interesting to learn where Mr. Gladstone has discovered that it was "suggested" to Convocation to make such a petition, and that when made it was "perfectly voluntary." There cannot now be much interest in examining the terms in which this paper is written, for, be they what they may, they cannot affect Mr. Gladstone's position with respect to Convocation. But as to the aversion from Rome, it is well worthy of notice that the Act of Parliament, when it came to be passed (23 Henry VIII., cap. 20), is remarkable amongst the anti-papal statutes for the clause that "The Parliament, not willing to go to extremities, remitted the final ordering of that Act to the King, that, if the Pope would either charitably and reasonably put down the payment of Annates, or so moderate them that they might be a tolerable burden, the king might, at any time before Easter, 1533, or before the next session of Parliament, declare by his letters patents, whether the premisses or any part of them should be observed or not, which should give them the full force and authority of a law;" and, indeed, the Act was not a total abolition of Annates to the Pope, as it still left five pounds in the hundred payable to Rome, "that the Pope and Court of Rome might have

* "*Cleopatra*," E. vi. p. 262, now p. 274.

† "*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*," vol. v. 344, No. 722 (5).

no just cause of complaint." The document that Mr. Gladstone calls "the Petition from Convocation" is incomparably more hostile to the Pope than the Act of Parliament, suggesting even that "the obedience of the king and the people be withdrawn from the See of Rome, as in like cases the French king withdrew his obedience of him and his subjects from Pope Benedict XIII."—who, by the way, must have been Pedro de la Luna, the anti-Pope. And as to "the widespread aversion of the clergy, in its different ranks, to the working prerogatives of the Roman See, which may be referred in part to impatience of taxation, but which obtained even with some of its highest, purest and ablest members," how does Mr. Gladstone account for it that the Upper House of the Convocation, to which he attributes the violently anti-papal petition against first-fruits, and to whom, amongst others, he attributes this aversion to the Pope and his taxes, should, in their places in the House of Lords, have unanimously voted *against* the Bill? Chapuys wrote to Charles V., March 20, 1532,* "The king has been at the Parliament three times lately, and has played his part so that the Bill about the *Annates* has been passed. All the bishops and two abbots opposed it. The lords, who were about thirty, all consented except the Earl of Arundel, so that the majority was for the king. The matter was decided yesterday."

To finish with the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Gladstone is undoubtedly right in saying that in March, 1534, the Pope was renounced by Convocation in the Lower House, which denied "that the Bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture in this realm of England than any other foreign bishop." But it was early in the same year, 1534, that the Act of Succession was passed in Parliament, in virtue of which the king exacted from the clergy an oath explicitly renouncing the Pope's authority. And this was followed in November of that year by the two Acts which conferred on the king the title of Head of the Church, with all papal powers, and declared it high treason to deny that title. A third Act in the same Session of Parliament ratified "the oath that every of the king's subjects hath taken and shall hereafter be bound to take."† The members of Convocation, with Cranmer to lead them, had not the spirit of More and Fisher, and Mr. Gladstone can hardly regard their action as spontaneous. It was in April, 1534, that More and Fisher were sent to the Tower for refusing the oath, the terms of which were not ratified by Parliament till the November

* "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. v. No. 879.

† Mr. Gladstone (p. 9) ignores this Act of Parliament (26 Hen. VIII. c. 2), but it is of importance as showing that the oath could not be refused without direct collision with statute law.

following. Henry's determination to push matters to extremes with all who should resist him was evident, and he had now little difficulty in obtaining from the Universities and Convocations such expressions of opinion as he required.

The remainder of Mr. Gladstone's article consists of this, that under Mary the Convocation did not repeal the legislative action of the Convocation under Henry VIII. "No attempt was made to disturb the proceedings of 1531 or 1534." Yet in the Convocation of Mary's first year he had read these words:—"That the Statute of the submission of the clergy made anno 25, Henry VIII. (1534), and all other Statutes made during the time of the late schism in derogation of the liberties and jurisdictions of the Church from the first year of Henry VIII., may be repealed and the Church restored 'in integrum.'" Mr. Gladstone would avoid the force of these words by saying that they are but a petition to the bishops from the Lower House, which, as in the reign of Elizabeth, "outstripped the Upper." He has no such comment upon the rejection of the Pope's authority in 1534. Yet, as it happens, all we know of it is, that it was an answer from the Lower House to the dogmatic question proposed to them whether the divine authority of the Bishop of Rome was in Scripture. The formality of the one in no way exceeds the formality of the other. And if further abrogation was necessary, was it not enough that the clergy should have joined in the petition to Cardinal Pole for absolution for the schism? And still further, surely, the legatine council held by Pole, "in order that this Church of England, which by the calamity of the late schism was greatly deformed in doctrine and morals, might be reformed to the standard of the Sacred Canons,"* as fully represented the Church of England as Henry VIII.'s Convocations. Mr. Gladstone's assertion therefore is absolutely erroneous that Queen Elizabeth "found in full force as ecclesiastical declarations and enactments the synodical acts of the reign of her father."

Of the Convocation that met in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Gladstone tells us that "it is asserted by Lingard that they presented a petition to the House of Lords declaring, among other things, belief in the Papal Supremacy," and he adds that, "on reference to the Records, we find that the allegation is radically erroneous." We have tried in vain to discover what it is in this allegation that Mr. Gladstone has declared to be erroneous. The petition contained the words: "That to the Apostle Peter and his lawful successors in the Apostolic See, as the vicars of Christ, is given the supreme power of feeding and ruling Christ's Church militant, and of confirming their

* Wilkins, iv. p. 151.

brethren.”* The petition that contains these words was presented, as Mr. Gladstone says, by Bonner, their president, to the Keeper of the Great Seal as Speaker of the House of Lords. What is it, then, in Lingard’s statement, that is “radically erroneous?” Though there is no mention of the concurrence of the bishops by any formal vote with this petition of the Lower House of Convocation, no one surely can complain that an historian, who calls this in general terms a petition from Convocation, is saying that which is radically erroneous.

Mr. Gladstone expects of Convocation what Convocation never thought of doing. It never passed enactments by formal legislation on such a subject as the supremacy of the Pope. It could, and did, make laws for the spiritual and ecclesiastical government of the province of Canterbury; but on a dogma, such as the headship of the Church, the two Houses could give their opinion certainly, but they could not make a law. The assertion of the royal supremacy by Convocation in 1534 was nothing but an answer by the Lower House to the question whether the Pope had authority in England by divine right, and their answer to this question had no more legal force than the similar answers of the universities. It would not have been wonderful if Mary’s Convocation had taken no notice of it whatever. It was an act of schism, not to say heresy, and was therefore necessarily rejected by those who returned to the obedience of the Pope. An historical fact cannot be repealed. The Convocation under Mary could repeal the laws of the Convocation under Henry, but it could not repeal its opinions. It could differ from them, and it did so; but as there was no law of the Church on the subject to repeal in Convocation in Mary’s time, so there was no “ecclesiastical enactment” to be found in full force on the accession of Elizabeth. This was why, under Mary, “no attempt was made to disturb the proceedings of 1531 and 1534.” It never occurred to any one that there was need explicitly to repeal the parenthesis of 1531, or the answer of the Lower House to a doctrinal question in 1534. But Convocation petitioned Parliament to repeal the statutes made against the Church, and it knelt for absolution for its own misdeeds. What more could it do?

All the passages quoted from Mr. Gladstone at the beginning of this article have now being sufficiently touched upon, with one single exception. Speaking of the accession of Elizabeth, he says: “The episcopal succession through Parker is unassailable up to this point, that it did not displace any legitimate possessors or claimants of any of the Sees.” It displaced all except Kitchin of Landaff. Of sixteen bishops, fifteen were displaced.

* Wilkins, iv. p. 180.

Ten Sees in the Province of Canterbury were vacant on the accession of Elizabeth, or became vacant very soon after. There were twelve bishops left in the Province, and of these eleven were deprived. In the Province of York, Man was vacant, and the four English bishops of the Province were all deprived. "It is difficult to conceive a more regular proceeding," says Mr. Gladstone. "The Sees were legitimately cleared before the new appointments were made. The avoidance was effected, in a majority of instances, by death, in the remainder by expulsion for a legal cause, with all the authority which the action of the National Church could give for such a purpose." What was "the action of the National Church" that displaced all her bishops but one? It sounds like nonsense that this should be attributed to the Church herself. Lay it on the right shoulders, and you have "The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion."

The "Elizabethan Settlement" gives the name to Mr. Gladstone's article, though the greater part of his space is occupied by the proceedings under Elizabeth's predecessors. But this is wise, for the "Elizabethan Settlement of Religion" is the legal and statutory settlement of religion to this day, and its character depends upon its history. Mr. Gladstone's argument may at first seem to be academical in its bearing, rather than practical, when the dogmatic grounds, on which the binding force of such proceedings must depend, are expressly excluded. But this would be to undervalue the importance of the investigation into which Mr. Gladstone has led us. It is in reality nothing else than a re-statement of the old controversial assertion that the Church of England washed her own face, and that thereby she was not substantially changed. Whether the change was substantial or not, depends on the doctrinal points that have here been excluded from consideration; but Mr. Gladstone has tried to show that if the face of the Church of England was washed, it was she herself who did it. If he had not given a plausibility to the argument, the writer of it would not have been Mr. Gladstone; but we venture now to say, without fear lest our readers, be they who they may, should give their verdict otherwise, that if it had not been by the help of many historical inaccuracies, he never could have given to his thesis even a plausible appearance. If anything is historically certain, it is that the royal supremacy was forced by Henry VIII. on an unwilling clergy, and that the ecclesiastical laws thereupon made were the work of a servile Parliament, and not of the clergy of England in Convocation.

JOHN MORRIS, S.J.

ART. II.—A MISSING PAGE FROM THE "IDYLLS
OF THE KING."

ALTHOUGH the "Morte d'Arthur" was one of the first books printed in the English language, the great semi-historical figure of Arthur, together with his knights of the Round Table, and all their romantic exploits, had well-nigh died out of the memory of the English people, when Tennyson published his "Idylls of the King." Many, ignorant of the source from which he had drawn the materials for the most popular of all his works, imagined that he had woven the fascinating stories of Sir Galahad and the Holy Grail, of Lancelot and Guinevere, of the "lily maid of Astolat," out of his own inner consciousness. Others, better informed, were yet ignorant of the extent to which he had made use of existing materials, as to how far he had reproduced the characters of the original romance, and of how much was due to his own inventive genius.

Moved by the charm of the Laureate's verse, no less than by his wonderful gift of story-telling, we determined to devote some careful study to a book that had proved so rich in poetical inspiration.

The "Morte d'Arthur," carefully preserved in the library of the British Museum, was translated from the French original (of which there exists now no trace as a whole) by Sir Thomas Malory, in the ninth year of Edward IV., and was first printed in 1485. The black letter copy, to which we have had access, contains a preface by William Caxton, describes itself as "newly imprinted and corrected," and bears the date, 1557. It is in many ways a venerable and edifying book, in spite of blemishes which belong to the unreserve and bluntness of an age which not only called a sin a sin, but described its make with a directness to which we are no longer accustomed.

Whether we agree with Caxton, that "it might full well be arretted great folly and blindness to say or think that there was never such a king called Arthur," or whether we are of those "divers men who hold opinion that all such books as be made of him be but fayne matters and fables, because that some chronicles make of him no mention, nor remember him nothing, nor of his knights," we must admit that, at least incidentally, the "Morte d'Arthur" is a picture of early English faith and pious beliefs. Its composition is mediæval, and represents the tone of thought common in those days. Comparing the "Idylls of the King," with it we are sometimes reminded of those Catholic books of

devotion "adapted" for members of the Church of England: all that savours too much of Catholicity is left out. There is no doubt a strong Protestant prejudice in Tennyson, struggling with his sense of artistic beauty, and repeatedly the Protestantism wins the day. It is to be regretted; for, from a mere dramatic point of view, much that he rejected is finer than anything he took. Thus his Lancelot is a grand conception, as mournfully, but with noble self-abasement, he says:—

in me there dwells no greatness,
Save it be some far-off touch of greatness
To know well, I am not great."

He is the very knight of courtesy, in chivalry above all other knights save Arthur—so strong that "whom he smote, he overthrew;" he is brave, noble, scornful, and "falsely true," but he is not the Catholic Lancelot of the "*Morte d'Arthur*."

The story of the real Lancelot is incomplete in the "*Idylls*," and the incompleteness is not merely a stopping short at a given point, but the absence of a refrain that should be there throughout. It is true, that at the end of "*Lancelot and Elaine*," one single line hints vaguely at the penance that crowned his sad and sin-stained life, where he is described as—

Not knowing he should die a holy man.

And in another place the long account of his confession, absolution, contrition, and the exhortation of the priest is slurred over in these words:—

Then I spake to one most holy saint;

but in the original there is a frequent anticipation of an after life, at whose threshold Tennyson leaves him.

It is not merely as if we had the history of St. Augustine up to the eve of his conversion, and no further, but as if there had been no fights with conscience, no turning towards the light, no sorrowful confessions at all. Tennyson has given us a great deal, but we venture to say that what he rejected, a Catholic poet would have seized, as the great culminating point of his epic.

The same remark does not apply to his conception of Arthur's character. Although there is much that is beautiful in him, as he is portrayed in the original, although, when pierced with many wounds, he fought on bravely, because he was "so full of knight-hood, that knightly he endured the pain," it is Tennyson that has exalted him into the "blameless king," the "highest creature here." If it had only been for what he has given us in *King Arthur*, the "*Idylls*" would still have been worth writing.

The object of this paper is to bring out some of the Catholic points of the "*Morte d'Arthur*," passed over by the Laureate,

and to show how far he departed from the main lines of the original story. Thus, in the first place, it is the fashion now, outside the Church, to declare that England, although Catholic, was never Papal, in spite of the masses of evidence to the contrary, and it is therefore interesting to see how the supremacy of the Pope was such a recognized fact in England, that it is constantly alluded to in this book in the most homely way, and as a matter of course.

When Arthur had defied the Roman Emperor who had sent to claim tribute, and had carried his victorious arms to the gates of the Eternal City, the legend goes on to say that senators and cardinals came out and sued for peace; that they invited him in, and that there he was crowned Emperor, "with all the solemnity that could be made, and by the Pope's own hands."

King Mark of Cornwall, for good reasons of his own, wanted to get rid of Tristram, and set about it in this wily manner:—

He let do counterfeit letters from the Pope, and made a strange clerk for to bear them unto King Mark, the which letters specified that King Mark should make him ready, upon pain of cursing, with his host, for to come to the Pope, to help to go to Jerusalem, for to make war upon the Saracens.

Mark, pretending he could not leave home, proposed that Tristram should go in his place, *since the command of the Pope must be obeyed*. "But," said Sir Tristram, "Sythen the apostle Pope hath sent for him, bid him to go thither himself." "Well," said King Mark, "yet shall he be beguiled," and counterfeited other letters, and the letters specified that the Pope desired Sir Tristram to come himself to make war upon the Saracens. But Tristram began to suspect the King of Cornwall, and at last Mark was obliged to walk into the trap he had set for his enemy, and to make "an oath that he would go himself unto the Pope of Rome for to war upon the Saracens."

The book abounds in such illustrations as this, but enough has been said to show in what light the Pope was considered in this country in the reign of Edward IV. One other instance, still more striking than the above, belongs to the story of Lancelot, and will be given in its proper place. We may remark here, that, whatever the shortcomings of some of Arthur's knights, they one and all evinced a lively faith, profound veneration for holy things, and a truly Catholic desire for reconciliation with God, through the reception of the Sacraments, whenever they fell into any sin. Thus the knights who were convened to assist at Arthur's coronation "made them clean of their lives, that their prayer might be the more acceptable unto God." And when Balan fought with his brother Balyn by mistake, and both were

mortally wounded, Balan entreated the Lady of the Tower to send for a priest: "Yea," said the lady, "it shall be done." And so she sent for a priest to give them their rights. "Now," said Balyn, "when we are buried in one tomb and the mention made over us how two brethren slew each other, there will never good knight nor good man see our tomb, but they will pray for our souls." Wherever the knights errant slept, they never set out on their journey on the morrow, without first hearing Mass; and if they had been riding all night, and came to a chapel in the morning, they "avoided their horses and heard Mass." There are many allusions to devotion to the Blessed Virgin. On one occasion a tournament was proclaimed in honour of the Assumption. The book literally teems with Catholicity, but space forbids us to linger.

In the poem "Lancelot and Elaine," Tennyson has followed closely on the lines of the original, both as to general design and detail.

The idyll "Geraint and Enid" does not belong to this history at all, but is taken from the "Mabinogian," a collection of Welsh legends, translated into English by Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Guest. "The Coming of Arthur," as related in the idyll, is throughout an invention of Tennyson's, or culled from other sources, and differs entirely from the story of his origin as told in the "Morte d'Arthur." But the legend that has suffered the most from poetical license is that of the "Holy Grail."

When the young Galahad, Lancelot's son, had been brought to Arthur's court, had been dubbed knight, and had sat in the mystical "siege perilous," fashioned by the wizard Merlin, he drew the sword from the magic stone that hovered over the water, and that no other knight could take. Then the queen, hearing of these marvels, and of his great exploits and chivalry, desired greatly to see Sir Galahad, and as he was riding by,

the king, at the queen's request, made him to alight and to unlace his helm, that Queen Guinevere might see him in the visage. And when she beheld him she said: "Sothely, I dare well say that Sir Lancelot begat him, for never two men resembled more in likeness. Therefore it is no marvel though he be of great prowess." So a lady that stood by the queen said, "Madam, for God's sake, ought he of right to be so good a knight?" "Yea, forsooth," said the queen, "for he is of all parties come of the best knights of the world, and of the highest lineage. For Sir Lancelot is comen of the eighth degree from our Lord Jesu Christ, and Sir Galahad is of the ninth degree, therefore I dare well say that they ben the greatest gentlemen of all the world."

After the meeting between Sir Galahad and the queen, the book goes on to say how that the king and all the estates went home to Camelot, and that as they sat at supper the Holy Grail

appeared. Tennyson relates the vision almost in the exact words of the original.

Sir Perceval having retired from the world, tells the monk Ambrosius the history of the quest:—

And all at once, as there we sat, we heard
A cracking and a riving of the roofs,
And rending, and a blast, and overhead
Thunder, and in the thunder was a cry.
And in the blast there smote along the hall
A beam of light seven times more clear than day:
And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail
All over covered with a luminous cloud,
And none might see who bare it, and it past.
But every knight beheld his fellow's face
As in a glory, and all the knights arose,
And staring each at other like dumb men
Stood, till I found a voice and sware a vow.
I sware a vow before them all that I,
Because I had not seen the Grail, would ride
A twelvemonth and a day in quest of it,
Until I found and saw it, as the nun
My sister saw it; and Galahad sware the vow,
And good Sir Bors, our Lancelot's cousin sware,
And Lancelot sware, and many among the knights,
And Gawayn sware, and louder than the rest.

It was, in fact, Sir Gawayn who spoke first:

Certainly [said he] we ought greatly to thank our Lord Jesu Christ, for that he hath shewed us this day of what meats and drinks we thought on, but one thing beguiled us, we might not see the Holy Grail, it was so precious covered. Wherefore, I will make here a vow, that to-morrow, without any longer abiding, I shall labour in the quest of the Sangreall, that I shall hold me out a twelve months and a day, and more if need be, and never shall I return again unto the court, till I have seen it more openly than it hath been seen here. When they of the Round Table heard Sir Gawayn say so, they arose, the most part of them, and avowed the same.

As the knights rode out of Camelot to begin their quest, there was weeping of the rich and of the poor: "the queen made great moan and wailing, and the king might not speak for weeping."

After some adventures Sir Perceval comes to a chapel to hear Mass, and there he sees a sick king lying on a couch behind the altar; and he was covered with wounds.

Then he left his looking and heard his service, and when it came to the sacring, he that lay within the perclose dressed him up and uncovered his head. And then him beseemed a passing old man, and he had a crown of gold on his head, and ever he held up his hands and

said on high : " Fair sweet father, Jesu Christ, forget not me." And so he laid him down. But always he was in his prayers and orisons. And when the Mass was done, the priest took our Lord's body and bare it unto the sick king. And when he had received it he did off his crown, and he commanded the crown to be set on the altar.

This king's name was Evelake. He had been converted by Joseph of Arimathæa, who was sent by our Lord to " preach and teach the Christian faith." Evelake, says the legend, followed Joseph of Arimathæa into England, where he brought the Holy Grail, the cup in which our Lord celebrated the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. This cup, or chalice, is said to have contained some drops of the Precious Blood.

And ever Evelake was busy to be there as the Sancgreall was. And upon a time he nighed it so nigh that our Lord was displeased with him. But ever he followed it more and more, till that God struck him almost blind. Then this king cried mercy, and said : " Fair Lord, let me never die till that the good knight of my blood of the ninth degree be comen, that I may see him openly when he shall achieve the Sancgreall, that I may once kiss him."

This " good knight " was, of course, Sir Galahad. Meanwhile—

Sir Lancelot rode overthwarte and endlong in a wild forest, and held no path but as wild adventure led him. And at the last he came unto a stone cross which departed [pointed] two ways, in waste land ; and by the cross was a stone that was of marble. But it was so dark that Sir Lancelot might not well know what it was. Then he looked by him and saw an old chapel, and there he wend to have found people. And so Sir Lancelot tied his horse to a tree, and there he put off his shield and hung it upon a tree, and then he went unto the chapel door and found it wasted and broken. And within he found a fair altar, full richly arrayed with cloth of silk, and there stood a fair candlestick which bear six great candles, and the candlestick was of silver. And when Sir Lancelot saw this light, he had a great will for to enter into the chapel, but he could find no place where he might enter. Then was he passing heavy and dismayed. Then he returned and came again to his horse and took off his saddle and his bridle and let him pasture ; and unlaced his helm and ungirded his sword, and laid him down to sleep upon his shield tofore the cross. And so he fell on sleep, and half waking and half sleeping, he saw come to him two palfreys, both fair and white, the which bare a litter, therein lying a sick knight. And when he was nigh the cross he there abode still.

All this Sir Lancelot saw and beheld, for he slept not verily, and he heard him say : " Oh, sweet Lord, when shall this sorrow leave me, and when shall the holy vessel come by me, wherethrough I shall be blessed, for I have endured thus long, for little trespass." And thus a great while complained the knight, and always Sir Lancelot heard it. With

that Sir Lancelot saw the candlestick with the six tapers come before the cross, but he could see nobody that brought it. And then came a table of silver and the holy vessel of the Sancgreall, the which Sir Lancelot had seen tofore. And therewithal the sick knight set him upright and held up both his hands, and said: "Fair, sweet Lord, which is here within the holy vessel, take heed to me that I may be whole of this great malady." And therewith, upon his hands and upon his knees, he went so nigh that he touched the holy vessel and kissed it. And anon he was whole, and then he said: "Lord God, I thank Thee, for I am healed of this malady." So when the holy vessel had been there a great while, it went unto the chapel again with the candlestick and the light, so that Sir Lancelot wist not where it became, for he was overtaken with sin that he had no power to rise against the holy vessel. Wherefore, afterward, many men said of him shame. But he took repentance afterward.

Then the sick knight dressed him upright and kissed the cross. Then anon his squire brought him his arms, and asked his lord how he did. "Certainly," said he, "I thank God right heartily, for through the holy vessel I am healed. But I have right great marvel of this sleeping knight, which hath neither had grace nor power to awake during the time that this holy vessel hath been here present." "I dare it right well say," said the squire, "that this knight is defouled with some manner of deadly sin, whereof he was never confessed." "By my faith," said the knight, "whatsoever he be, he is unhappy, for, as I deem, he is of the noble fellowship of the Round Table, the which is entered into the quest of the Sancgreall." "Sir," said the squire, "here I have brought you all your arms, save your helm and your sword, and therefore, by mine assent, now may ye take this knight's helm and his sword," and so he did. And when he was clean armed he took Sir Lancelot's horse, for he was better than his. And so they departed from the cross.

Then anon Sir Lancelot awaked and sat himself upright, and be-thought him what he had there seen, and whether it were dreams or not. Right so he heard a voice, that said: "Sir Lancelot, more harder than is the stone, and more bitter than is the wood, and more naked and bare than is the leaf of the fig tree, therefore go thou from hence, and withdraw thee from this holy place." And when Sir Lancelot heard this he was passing heavy and wist not what to do. And so he departed, sore weeping, and cursed the time that he was born. For the words went unto his heart till that he knew wherefore he was so-called.

Then Sir Lancelot went to the cross and found that his helm and his sword and his horse were taken away. And then he called himself a very wretched and most unhappy of all knights, and there he said: "My sin and my wretchedness hath brought me unto great dishonour; for when I fought worldly adventures and worldly desires I ever achieved them and had the better in every place, and never was I discomfited in no quarrel, were it right or wrong. But now I take upon me the adventures of holy things, I see and understand that mine old sin hindreth me, and also shamed me, so that I had no power to stir nor to speak when the Holy Blood appeared before me." So then he sorrowed till it was day, and heard the fowls of the air sing.

Then was he somewhat comforted, and departed from the cross on foot into a wild forest, and there he found a hermitage, and a hermit therein that was going to Mass. And then Sir Lancelot kneeled down upon both his knees, and cried our Lord mercy for his wicked works that he had done. When Mass was done. Sir Lancelot called the hermit to him and prayed him for charity to hear his confession. "With a goodwill," said the good man. "Sir," said he, "be ye of King Arthur's court and of the noble fellowship of the Round Table?" "Yea, forsooth, and my name is Sir Lancelot du Lake, which hath been right well said of and greatly magnified. And now it is so, my good fortune is changed. For I am the most wretched and caitiff of the world."

Then the hermit beheld him and had great marvel how he was so sore abashed. "Sir," said the good man, "ye ought to thank God more than any knight living, for He hath caused you to have more worldly worship than any, and for your presumption to take upon you in deadly sin for to be in His presence, where His flesh and His blood was, that caused you ye might not see it with your worldly eyes. For He will not appear where such sinners be, but it be unto their great hurt and shame. And there is no knight living now that ought to give unto God so great thank as ye. For He hath given to you beauty, seemliness, and great strength above all other knights, and therefore ye are the more beholden to God than any man to love Him and to dread Him; for your strength and manhood will little avail you and God be against you."

Then Sir Lancelot wept, and made full heavy cheer, and said: "Now I know well ye tell me truth." "Sir," said the good man, "hide none old sin from me." And then he told there that good man all his life, and how he had loved a queen unmeasurably many years. "And all my great deeds of arms that I have done I did for the most part for the queen's sake, and for her sake would I do battle, were it right or wrong, and never did I battle all onely for God's sake, but for to win worship and to cause me to be the better beloved, and little or nought I thanked God for it. Then," said Sir Lancelot, "I pray you counsel me." "I will counsel you," said the hermit, "if ye will ensure me that ye will never come in that queen's fellowship again as much as ye may forbear." And Sir Lancelot promised the hermit by his faith that he would never come in her company. "Look that your heart and mouth accord," said the good man, "and I shall ensure you that ye shall have more worship than ye ever had."

It is impossible not to be struck with the truth and beauty of this scene; the author, whoever he may be, knows his religion well.

After this Lancelot tells the hermit of the voice that proclaimed him harder than a stone, bitterer than wood, and more bare and naked than the leaf of the fig-tree; and the hermit expounds the vision. He accepts humbly the reproof of his confessor, and expresses contrition, upon which:

the good man enjoined Sir Lancelot such penance as he might do, and

A Missing Page from the "Idylls of the King."

to serve knighthood. And so he *assoiled* him and prayed him to abide with him all that day. And then Sir Lancelot repented him greatly.

He remained three days with the hermit, when, being newly provided with a horse, a sword and a helmet, he took his leave and rode away.

Soon he came to another chapel, wherein a dead monk was lying. When the hermit, who served this chapel, knew who the stranger knight was, he took the hair shirt in which the dead monk was clothed, and put it upon Sir Lancelot, telling him to eat no meat, and drink no wine, but to hear Mass daily, until he had achieved the Holy Grail. After this, Lancelot rode away into the forest,

till he came to a cross, and took that for his host for that night; and he put his horse to pasture, and took off his helm and his shield, and made his prayers to the cross, that he might never again fall in deadly sin—and the hair pricked so Sir Lancelot's skin that it grieved him full sore, but he took it meekly, and suffered the pain.

On the morrow he jousts with many knights, and for the first time was thrown and overcome, all which he endured patiently as penance for his sins. That night he laid himself down to sleep under an apple tree and dreamed a strange dream. At day dawn he arose, armed himself, and went on his way. He next came to a chapel "where was a recluse which had a window, that she might look up to the altar, and all aloud she called Sir Lancelot, and asked him whence he came, what he was, and what he went to seek." He told her all his dreams and visions, which she expounded, and gave him pious counsel, but told him that he was "of evil faith and poor belief."

About this time, he met Sir Galahad and knew that he was his son. Then, after various adventures, he came as near the Holy Grail as it was given to him to come. His vision was as follows: As he was kneeling before a closed door, "he heard a voice which sang sweetly, that it seemed none earthly thing. And him thought that the voice said, Joy and honour be to the Father of Heaven. Then Sir Lancelot wist well that there was the Sancgreall in that chamber." Then he prayed.

And with that the chamber door opened, and there came out a great clearness, that the house was as bright as though all the torches of the world had been there. And anon he would have entered, but a voice said, "Flee, Sir Lancelot, and enter not, for, and if thou enter, thou shalt forethink it." Then he withdrew him aback, and was right heavy in his mind.

Then looked he up in the midst of the room, and saw a table of silver, and the holy vessel covered with red samite, and so many angels

about it, whereof one of them held a candle of wax, brenning, and the other held a cross and the ornaments of the altar. And before the holy vessel he saw a good man, clothed like a priest, and it seemed that he was at the sacring of the Mass.

And it seemed unto Sir Lancelot that above the priest's hands there were three men, whereof the two put the youngest by likeness between the priest's hands, and so he lift it upright high, and it seemed to show unto the people. And then Sir Lancelot marvelled not a little, for him thought the priest was so greatly charged of the figure, that him seemed he should have fallen to the ground; and when he saw none about him, he came to the door, a great pace, and said:

"Fair sweet Father, Jesu Christ, ne take it for no sin, though I help the good man, which hath great need of help." Right so, he entered into the chamber, and came toward the table of silver; and when he came nigh he felt a breath, that him thought was intermeddled with fire, which smote him so sore in the visage that him thought it all to brent his visage.

This is the culminating point of Lancelot's quest; he swooned away, and lay as one dead for twenty-four days. Nearer he might not come to the Holy Grail, and the sequel shows why, for, after a time, he returned to the court, and fell into sin again, and forgot his good resolutions.

For, as the French book saith, had not Sir Lancelot been in his privy thoughts and in his mind set inwardly to the queen, as he was in seeming, outward unto God, there had no knight passed him in the quest of the Sancgreall; but ever his thoughts were privily upon the queen.

But soon there arose a bitter quarrel between Lancelot and Guinevere, and she banished him from her sight. During his absence from the court, she made a dinner, at which one of the guests, Sir Modor, was poisoned, and the queen accused of the crime. Guinevere was therefore impeached, and so truly did all the Round Table believe in her guilt, that at first no knight would come forward to defend her.

Ultimately, however, the "good Sir Bors," Lancelot's kinsman, was prevailed on to be her champion, provided, that at the moment of the contest, a better knight did not appear to answer for her. Of course, when Sir Bors is about to enter the lists in the meadow, before Winchester, where there is a great fire and an iron stake, at which Guinevere is to be burned if her champion is overcome, a strange knight appears in unknown armour, and turns out to be Lancelot, fights for the queen, and overcomes her accuser.

Here comes in the exquisite story of Elaine, to which the poet has done such ample justice.

Soon after the death of the "lily maid," Sir Agravaine, moved

by jealousy of Arthur's greatest knight, discloses the story of Lancelot's treachery, and extracts from the king a reluctant permission to take him. But Sir Mordred is the real instigator of the plot, working upon Agravaine's weakness, and Tennyson has altered little in the dramatic situation which immediately follows. His description of the parting scene between Lancelot and the queen is most graphic :—

And then they were agreed upon a night
(When the good king should not be there) to meet
And part for ever. Passion pale they met
And greeted: hands in hands, and eye to eye,
Low on the border of her couch they sat
Stammering and staring; it was their last hour,
A madness of farewells. And Mordred brought
His creatures to the basement of the tower
For testimony; and crying with full voice
"Traitor, come out, ye are trapt at last," aroused
Lancelot, who rushing outward lion-like
Leapt on him, and hurled him headlong, and he fell
Stunned, and his creatures took and bare him off,
And all was still; then she, "The end is come,
And I am shamed for ever;" and he said,
"Mine be the shame; mine was the sin; but rise,
And fly to my strong castle over seas:
There will I hide thee, till my life shall end,
There hold thee with my life against the world."
She answered, "Lancelot, wilt thou hold me so?
Nay, friend, for we have taken our farewells.
Would God that thou couldst hide me from myself!"

Lancelot will not yield himself up lightly to his enemies; Sir Agravaine and another knight fall in the struggle with him; but it is not now that Guinevere betakes herself to Malmesbury, and the whole beautiful scene between her and Arthur, and his most touching farewell to her, are weavings of the poetical imagination. Beautiful the scene is, although wanting in the true Catholic spirit; for Tennyson lays greater stress on her sin against her husband, than on her sin against God, which is the very backbone of Guinevere's repentance. What really happens is this: Lancelot takes counsel with Sir Bors and his other friends, as to how he may save the queen, and it is decided that if on the morrow, she is brought to the fire to be burned, Lancelot and all his kinsmen shall rescue her.

Accordingly, Arthur's nephews, Gawayn, Gahers, and Gareth, lead Guinevere forth, "without Cærleyell, and there she was despoiled unto her smock, and so then her ghostly father was brought to her, to be shriven of her misdeeds." But Lancelot's messenger gives the alarm duly, and Lancelot appears, with all his

friends. There is much fighting and bloodshed, and in the confusion Sir Gahers and Sir Gareth are slain.

Then Sir Lancelot rode straight unto the queen, and made a kirtle and a gown to be cast upon her, and then he made her to be set behind him, and rode with her unto his castle of *Joyous Garde*, and there he kept her as a noble knight should, and many lords and kings sent Sir Lancelot many good knights. When it was known openly that King Arthur and Sir Lancelot were at debate, many knights were glad of their debate, and many knights were sorry. But King Arthur sorrowed for pure sorrow, and said: "Alas, that ever I bare any crown upon my head!"

Sir Gawayn, mourning the death of his brothers, incites the king to besiege Lancelot in *Joyous Garde*, and at length, reluctantly, Arthur consents to make war.

Of this war was noise, throughout all Christendom. And at last, it was noised before the Pope, and he considering the great goodness of King Arthur and Sir Lancelot, which was called the most noble knight of the world, wherefore the Pope called unto him a noble clerk that at that time there was present: the French book saith it was the Bishop of Rochester. And the Pope gave him Bulls under lead, unto King Arthur of England, charging him upon pain of interdiction of all England, that he take his queen, dame Guinevere, to him again, and accord with Sir Lancelot.

Arthur would have made peace at once, but at first Sir Gawayn prevented him. Then the bishop went to Lancelot, and charged him to bring back the queen.

"And the bishop had of the king his great seal and assurance, as he was a true anointed king, that Sir Lancelot should go safe and come safe, and that the queen should not be reproved of the king, nor of none other for nothing done before time past."

To Lancelot, the bishop ended his exhortation in these words: "Wit ye well, the Pope must be obeyed."

Lancelot answered, "That it was never in his thought to withhold the queen from his lord King Arthur, but in so much as she should have been dead for my sake, me seemeth it was my part to save her life, and put her from that danger till better recover might come. And now I thank God, that the Pope hath made her peace, for God knoweth," said Sir Lancelot, "I would be a thousandfold more gladder to bring her again than I was of her taking away."

So he brought Guinevere to the king, and when they had both knelt down before him, he said:—

My most redoubted lord, ye shall understand, that by the Pope's commandment and by yours, I have brought unto you my lady the queen, as right requireth. Then King Arthur and all the other kings

kneeled down and gave thankings and louings (praises) to God and to his Blessed Mother.

But Sir Gawayn would not be reconciled to Lancelot, who in vain offered to do penance for the death of Gahers and Gareth. In vain he said :—

This much shall I offer you, if it may please the king's good grace, and you my lord Sir Gawayn. And first I shall begin at Sandwich, and there I shall go in my shirt and barefoot, and at every ten miles end, I will found and cause to make a house of religion, of what order ye will assign me, with a whole convent, to sing and to read, day and night, in especial for Sir Gareth's sake and Sir Gahers; and this shall I perform from Sandwich unto Cærleyell. And this, Sir Gawayn, me thinketh were more fairer and better unto their souls than that my most noble lord Arthur and you should war on me, for thereby ye shall get none avail.

But Sir Gawayn answered him in hard words, ending thus :—

And if it were not for the Pope's commandment, I should do battle with my body against thy body, and prove it unto thee that thou hast been false unto mine uncle, King Arthur, and to me both, and that shall I prove upon thy body, when thou art departed from hence, wheresoever I find thee. Then all the knights and ladies that were there, wept as they had been mad, and the tears fell upon King Arthur's cheeks. Then Sir Lancelot kissed the queen before them all, took his leave, and departed with all the knights his kin.

He went to his estates over the sea; but Gawayn gave Arthur no rest, till he had made ready an army and crossed the sea to make war on him. Mordred, in Arthur's absence, seized the kingdom, and would have wedded the queen by force, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury threatened to curse him with bell, book and candle. When Mordred defied him, the Archbishop departed and "did the curse, in the most orgulous wise that might be done." But Arthur, receiving tidings of Mordred's conduct, returned to Dover, where the usurper met him, and "there was much slaughter of gentle knights." Here Sir Gawayn was mortally wounded, and Arthur made "great sorrow and moan." Two hours before his death, Gawayn wrote a letter to Lancelot, telling him of Mordred's crime, and beseeching him "the most noblest knight," to come back to the realm.

And so at the hour of None, Sir Gawayn betook himself into the hands of our Lord God, after that he had received his Saviour. And then the king let bury him within a chapel, within the castle of Dover, and there, yet to this day, all men may see the skull of Sir Gawayn, and the same wound is seen that Sir Lancelot gave him in battle.

In the "Passing of Arthur," Tennyson has kept mainly to the

original, and it is at this point that the king is overcome by his enemies, receives his deadly wound, and sails away in the barge with the three queens to the island valley of Avlylon.

But on the morrow, Sir Bedevere finds him lying dead in a little chapel on a rock. "And when Queen Guinevere understood, that her lord King Arthur was slain, and all the noble knights, Sir Mordred and all the remnant, she stole away and five ladies with her. And so she went to Almsbury, and there she let make herself a nun, and wore white clothes and black. And great penance she took, as ever did sinful lady in this land, and never creature could make her merry, but lived in fastings, prayers, and alms deeds, that all many of people marvelled how virtuously she was changed. And there she was abbess and ruler as reason would."

Meanwhile Sir Lancelot had returned to England to avenge King Arthur's death. When he had wept and prayed for two nights on Sir Gawayn's tomb,

He wandered westward, and sought seven or eight days, till he came to a nunnery. And then was Queen Guinevere ware of Sir Lancelot, as he walked in the cloister. And when she saw him there, she swooned three times, that all the ladies and gentlewomen had work enough to hold the queen up. So when she might speak, she called the ladies and gentlewomen to her and said: "Ye marvel, fair ladies, why I make this cheer. Truly," said she, "it is for the sight of yonder knight which yonder standeth, wherefore I pray you all to call him unto me."

And when Sir Lancelot was brought unto her, she said: "Through this knight and me, all these wars been wrought, and the death of the most noble knights of the world. For through our love that we have loved together, is my most noble lord slain. Therefore wit ye well, Sir Lancelot, I am set in such a plight to get my soul health. And yet I trust, through God's grace, that after my death for to have a sight of the blessed face of Jesu Christ, and at the dreadful day of doom to sit on His right side. For as sinful creatures as ever was I, are saints in heaven.

"Therefore, Sir Lancelot, I require thee and beseech thee, for all the love that ever was between us two, that thou never look me more in the visage. And furthermore, I command thee, on God's behalf, right straightly that thou forsake my company, and that unto thy kingdom shortly thou return again, and keep well thy realm from war and wrake. For as well as I have loved thee, Sir Lancelot, now, mine heart will not once serve me to see thee. For both through me and thee is the flower of kings and knights destroyed. Therefore, Sir Lancelot, go thou unto thy realm, and take thee a wife, and live with her in joy and bliss. And I beseech you heartily, pray for me unto our Lord God, that I may amend my misliving."

"Now, sweet Madam," said Sir Lancelot, "would ye that I should return again into my country, and there to wed a lady? Nay, Madam,

wit ye well, that I shall never do while I live. For I shall never be so false to you of that I have promised; but the same destiny that ye have taken you unto, I will take me unto, for to please God and specially to pray for you." "If thou wilt do so," said the queen, "hold thy promise. But I may not believe but that thou wilt return to the world again." "Ye say well," said he, "yet wist ye me never false of my promise, and God defend, but that I should forsake the world, like as ye have done. For in the quest of the Sancgreall, I have forsaken the vanities of the world, had not your lord been. And if I had done so, at that time, with my heart, will and thought, I had passed all the knights that were in the quest of the Sancgreall, except Sir Galahad, my son. And therefore, my lady dame Guinevere, sithen ye have taken you unto perfection, I must needs take me unto perfection of right. For I take record of God, in you have I had mine earthly joy, and if I had found you so disposed, I had cast me for to have had you into my own realm and country. But sithen I find you thus disposed, I ensure you faithfully that I will take me to penance, and pray while my life lasteth, if I may find any good hermit, either grey or white, that will receive me. Wherefore, Madam, I pray you, kiss me once and never more." "Nay," said the queen, "that shall I never do, but abstain you from such things," and so they departed. But there was never so hard a hearted man, but he would have wept to see the sorrow that they made. For there was a lamentation, as though they had been stung with spears, and many times they swooned. And the ladies bare the queen to her chamber, And Sir Lancelot awoke and went and took his horse, and rode all that day and all that night in a forest weeping. And at the last, he was ware of an hermitage and a chapel that stood between two cliffs, and then he heard a little bell ring to Mass, and thither he rode and alighted, and tied his horse to the gate, and heard Mass.

And he that sang the Mass was the Bishop of Canterbury. There was also Sir Bedevere, and both the bishop and Sir Bedevere knew Sir Lancelot, and they spoke together after Mass. But when Sir Bedevere had told him his tale all whole, Sir Lancelot's heart almost braste for sorrow, and he threw abroad his arms and said: "Alas, who may trust this world!" And then he kneeled down on his knees, and prayed the bishop for to shrive him and assoyle him. And then he besought the bishop that he might be his brother. Then the bishop said: "I will right gladly," and then he put a habit upon Sir Lancelot, and there he served God day and night with prayers and fastings.

Within half a year, seven other knights joined themselves to him and "endured in great penance six years; and then Sir Lancelot took the habit of priesthood, and in twelve months he sang Mass. The other knights read books, and helped for to sing Mass, and rang bells, and did lowly all manner of service. And so their horses went where they would, for they took no regard of no worldly riches."

But Lancelot, with all his fasting and austerities, "waxed full

lean." One night he had a vision, in which it was told him that he should, in remission of his sins, hasten towards Malmesbury, where he should find Queen Guinevere dead.

"He was to take his fellows and purvey him a horse-bier, and bring the corpse of her and bury it by her lord and husband, the noble King Arthur, and this vision came thrice unto Lancelot in one night." On the morrow they all set out; but, although the distance from Glastonbury to Malmesbury is only about thirty miles, they took two days to make the journey, for they were "weak and feeble to go."

The queen, meanwhile, had had the same vision as Lancelot, and had died, half an hour before his arrival, having prayed aloud constantly for two days thus: "I beseech Almighty God, that I may never have the power to see Sir Lancelot with my worldly eyes." "And there Sir Lancelot saw her visage; but he wept not greatly, but sighed. And so he did all the observance himself, both the dirge at night, and the Mass on the morrow; and there was ordained an horse-bier, and so, with an hundred torches ever burning about the corpse of the queen, Sir Lancelot with his seven fellows went about the bier, singing and reading many an holy and devout orison, and frankincense upon the corpse incensed. Thus they went on foot, till they came to Glastonbury, and when they were come to the chapel and the hermitage, there they had a dirge with great devotion. And on the morrow, the hermit that was sometime Bishop of Canterbury sang the Mass of Requiem."

It was not long after the death of Guinevere, that Lancelot "began to wax sick, and for evermore, day and night, he prayed; but needfully as nature required, sometimes he slumbered a broken sleep. And within six weeks he lay in his bed, and then he said: 'Sir Bishop, I pray you that ye will give me all my rights that belongeth unto a Christian man.' So when he was houseled and eneled, and had all that a Christian man ought to have, he prayed the bishop that his fellows might bear his body unto *Joyous Garde*. That night the bishop dreamed he saw Sir Lancelot with two angels, and he saw the angels heave up Sir Lancelot towards heaven, and the gates of heaven opened against him. And then they went to Sir Lancelot's bed, and there they found him dead, and he lay as he had smiled; and the sweetest savour about him that ever they felt."

J. M. STONE.

ART. III.—THE APOSTLES' CREED AND THE RULE OF FAITH.

1. *Lehre und Gebet in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten.* Von Dr. F. PROBST. Tübingen. 1871.
2. *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Altenkirche.* Von Dr. A. HAHN. 2 Ausgabe. Von Dr. G. L. HAHN. Breslau. 1877.
3. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel.* Von Dr. C. P. CASPARI. 3 Bände. Christiania. 1866-75.
4. *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: their Literary History.* By C. A. SWAINSON, D.D., &c. London: J. Murray. 1875.

THERE is no testimony to the continuity of the Catholic Church, and to its lineal descent from the Apostles, comparable to that Creed which we learned in infancy next after the Lord's Prayer, and have since recited day by day. If this constant use did not blunt our perception, we could not fail to be impressed with the fact, that the earliest extant statement of the faith is the watchword of the Church in our own time. The divine office has grown and expanded in the course of ages into the splendours of the Breviary; the Liturgy itself has undergone the changes which the altered discipline of the Church required; but we not merely hold the same faith, we confess it in the same language, as did our forefathers of the Church of Rome in the times of heathen persecution. Hidden amid the darkness which shrouds so many details of the infant Church, the apostolic origin of the Creed has ever been a firm tradition of the faithful; who for that very reason have made but little inquiry into the documentary proofs of its antiquity. The Maurists, indeed, have inseparably connected their name with this as with every other department of Patristic literature, and Dom. Touttée's excursus, in the Benedictine edition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, is still one of the chief authorities on the subject. Besides this, I only know of one Catholic work on the creed—Meyers' "*De Symboli Apostolici titulo origine et auctoritate*" (Treves, 1849). But, providentially, the work which Catholics have not thought necessary has been taken up earnestly by Anglicans and Lutherans. For, wonderful as it must seem when we reflect that our Creed of to-day has come to us from the earliest ages of Christianity, it is

far more portentous that those who separated from the Church of Rome at the Reformation should have carried with them a symbol, which comes to them only from that Church. They had to seek a historical basis for the Creed, and much was written on the subject, the best known work being of course that of Pearson. In the last generation Professor Hahn of Breslau published a collection of all the Symbols of the early Church, which, in the new edition brought out by his son, is the most convenient work for reference. But the most exhaustive treatise is that of Professor Caspari of Christiania, who in the nine years 1866-75 ransacked every library in Europe for unnoticed passages bearing on the Creed, collected all those from the early Fathers in which it is referred to, and critically examined the whole. This is now, and will probably long remain, the chief authority on the Creed; and it is hardly possible to do more than to verify and weigh anew the mass of information it contains. Unfortunately it is ill-arranged, exceeding even the license allowed to German professors. The reader loses himself in excursions and notes of prodigious length, interesting indeed, but digressions from the main point, which is to be found in the notes to the third volume. The principal service I can hope to perform, is to bring his conclusions before my readers in an endurable order and bulk. Had Professor Caspari's work not been so considerable as to dwarf all others, I should have had more frequent occasion to quote Dr. Heurtley's "*Harmonia Symbolica*," of which I can only here acknowledge the learning and judicial character. Dr. Swainson's volume is one of greater bulk and pretensions, but not, as I venture to think, of more value. It contains the results of much original study of manuscripts, particularly bearing on the history of the Athanasian Creed, which are of permanent interest, but it is marred by gratuitous innuendoes against those who differ from him, such as his assurances that *he*, at least, "will not lie for God," and the severity of his remarks upon Cardinal Newman and the other editors of the Oxford Library of the Fathers, for errors, which, if they exist at all, are trivial indeed compared to those which we shall see he has himself committed.

These are the principal authorities on which I shall rely. We meet, however, with a difficulty at the outset, which has to be resolved before we can proceed further in our study of the subject. In the earliest Christian writers we find no Creed given us literally and entirely, this being only what we might expect, since later Fathers unanimously declared that it was not to be committed to writing, but handed down as an unwritten watchword. This is of course a hindrance to our obtaining any evidence of the primitive form of the Creed. But the difficulty is much increased by finding St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others often refer to

a collection of doctrines, following the same general order and covering the same ground as the Baptismal Symbol, which they term the "Rule of Faith," or "of the Truth," "The Preaching of the Apostles," or "of the Church." We have, then, first to determine whether this is the same as the Creed, and, if not, what is the relation between them. For this purpose we cannot do better than follow the guidance of Probst, the chief modern Catholic authority in all departments of Ante-Nicene Christian history. His view is briefly this: the whole Apostolic College agreed upon a common basis and order for their teaching, a "*doctrina tradita*," which they handed down to their successors as a summary of the defined and publicly recognized teaching of the Church. As such it was known to the early Fathers as the Rule of Faith, or of the Truth, and is found in them with a remarkable agreement in the matter, though with slight verbal differences. This teaching of the Church was summarized in her two most important formularies: the Canon of the Liturgy and the Baptismal Creed. To go into the matter in detail, we must begin with the New Testament. We find in the Acts several expositions of Christian doctrine, in the sermons of St. Peter and St. Paul,* all remarkably alike, and covering the same ground as the Creed. This similarity arose, no doubt, from the requirements the Apostles had to meet. They had to testify to the Jews the Godhead, public life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, with their consequences—the resurrection and judgment of all mankind; and to these doctrines, when preaching to the heathen, St. Paul had to prefix that God was the creator of heaven and earth. The similarity between these discourses extends, however, to the language and turn of the sentences, as will to some extent appear when I presently compare the Creed with the New Testament, and as can be more completely seen by reading them together; and this fact suggests there must have been an agreement among the Apostles as to the form as well as the matter of their teaching. The same conclusion follows from a study of the several descriptions of the public teaching of the Church in the New Testament and Apostolic Fathers. Perhaps the most interesting is connected with the word *κῆρυξ* and its derivatives. It was evidently adopted from the LXX. in order to claim for Christian teachers the infallibility belonging to the inspired prophets of the Old Law. St. Paul significantly connects the act of preaching with being sent, and in his own case laid the Gospel which he preached privately before the heads of the Church in Jerusalem (Rom. x. 14, 15; Gal. ii. 2). *κῆρυξ*, again, is twice used by him in a manner which implies that it had acquired a definite connotation at the

* Acts ii., iii., iv., x., xvii.

time the Pastoral Epistles were written (1 Tim. i. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11). There is still more evidence that the word *κήρυγμα* gradually obtained a technical sense, in St. Paul and the early Christian writers, for the defined and official teaching of the Church. This is inevitably obscured in the Latin and other versions, where "praedicatio," "preaching," has to do duty for the act of preaching as well as for the things preached, the matter of the doctrines taught by the Apostles. Probst avoids this ambiguity by using the word "Kerygma" wherever it is possible to do so. When this is done, the significance of the word comes out in such passages as—"the foolishness of the Kerygma" (1 Cor. i. 21); "that through me the Kerygma might be fully proclaimed" (2 Tim. iv. 17); "the Kerygma wherewith I was intrusted" (Tit. i. 3). But the most remarkable passage for our purpose is 1 Cor. xv., in which it has sometimes been thought that the Apostle was quoting the Creed. It would take too long, in what is only the introduction to my subject, to show in detail that his appeal is really to the defined and universally received teaching of the Church. But I think this will be clear to every one who carefully reads the whole passage. I will only call attention to the unusual emphasis of v. 1; the appeal to a common teaching in "whether it be I or they," of v. 11; and the correlation between this teaching and the belief of the faithful in vv. 11 and 14. It will also be noticed that St. Paul reminds the Corinthians, not merely of what they had been taught, but of the language employed.* In St. Irenæus, and in the precious fragments of the early Christian writers preserved for us by Eusebius,† we find the word constantly used in the same sense, the most remarkable instance for us being where he quotes St. Irenæus as saying, that the tradition of the Apostles and the Kerygma of the truth, had reached the Christians of his time by the apostolic succession of the Bishops of Rome.‡ The amplest evidence of the use of the term is to be found in Origen. In the preface to his treatise "De Principiis," his object is to show that, beyond the doctrines which must be held as of faith, there are large fields open to theological speculation. He begins by saying (sect. 2): "Let the Kerygma of the Church,§ delivered by the order of succession from the Apostles, be observed; also that the Apostles delivered "most openly" to the faithful, what they considered necessary

* τὴν λόγον εὐγγελισμένην ὑμῖν εἶτε οὖν ἐγὼ, εἶτε ἐκεῖνοι (the other Apostles) οὕτως κηρύσσομεν.

† H. E. iii. 27; iv. 22; v. 28, and in many other places.

‡ τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διαδοχῇ, ἣ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσις, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα, κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς (v. 6).

§ This, in the fragments preserved by Pamphilus (in Titum) is called the "regula pietatis" and "Ecclesiastica regula."

to be believed, going on to enumerate (sects. 4-10) the doctrines thus publicly taught in the same order as the Creed does.

The word "deposit," used by St. Paul for the same body of doctrines, is not employed by the early Fathers; but Tertullian explicitly recognizes its meaning to be, not an "occultum evangelium," but the public teaching of the Church.* On the other hand they—St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Novatian—use a term for the Kerygma which we do not find in Scripture; *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, "Regula fidei," or "veritatis."† But on comparing the passages I refer to, it will be seen that the same thing is intended by all these different phrases.‡ Another interesting example of the same is to be found in St. Irenæus, who (iii. 3, 3) points out that St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians has the Kerygma for its framework, while that Pontiff himself begins by appealing to "the glorious and venerable rule of our tradition."§ We seem here to have got at the origin of the term "Rule" as applied to the teaching of the Church.

The Rule of Faith, which thus originated in the apostolic preaching, impressed itself on the most solemn act of worship, the Holy Sacrifice. This is most obvious in the earliest extant form of the Liturgy, found in the Apostolic Constitutions,|| but it can still be discerned in the Mass we use to-day. In the Clementine Liturgy the celebrant recites, in the long preface, the blessings of creation and government of the universe, next commemorates the Son as Redeemer, the Words of Institution being inserted after the mention of His Passion and Death, and then speaks of the Holy Spirit. The similarity is too great to be accidental, and shows that the Eucharistic prayer traversed the whole extent of revealed truth to find material for thanksgiving and praise.

The connection between the Rule of Faith and the Baptismal Symbol is, naturally, much more intimate. It is, indeed, so close that Anglican divines have generally followed Bingham in supposing that the term Rule of Faith is merely a synonym for the Creed; and among Catholics, Denzinger, if we may judge from his *Enchiridion*, is of the same opinion. The arguments adduced by Probst and Canon Swainson are, however, I think, conclusive that

* *Praesc. Haer.* 25.

† St. Irenæus, i. 10, 1; iii. 4, 2; iv. 33, 7. Tertull. *Vel. Virg.* 1; *Praesc. Haer.* 13; *Contra Praxeam*, 2. Novatian *de Tim.* 7.

‡ St. Irenæus expressly calls his Rule of Faith, *τὸν τοῦ κήρυγμα* (i. 10, 2).

§ *Ἐλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα* (vii. 2).

|| See Probst, "Liturgie," and Bickell, "Messe und Pascha." The lately recovered passages of St. Clement contain so many coincidences with the Clementine Liturgy, as materially to strengthen their argument. The Liturgy itself may be most conveniently studied in Hammond's "Antient Liturgies."

the two are not identical. Dom Massuet recognized a distinction between them in St. Irenæus,* whose language would be the strongest basis for the other opinion. They are clearly distinguished by Clement of Alexandria; and even more explicitly by St. Cyprian, who first applied the term "Symbolum" to the Creed, while he calls the Rule of Faith "lex."† Later, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Isidore are decisive witnesses to the same.

I think it will also be seen that St. Paul in one passage‡ intends to distinguish the "form" or formulary "of sound words," which had been learned from himself, by word of mouth, from the "good deposit," which was to be preserved by the Holy Spirit that dwelt in himself and in Timothy. The Rule of Faith, as St. Irenæus says, § was committed to the Bishop; while the Creed was intended for the laity; hence it did not contain the more strictly theological portions of the former, which were directed against heresy.

The chief object of the Symbol, besides the instruction of the faithful, was to serve as a password, whereby they might recognize each other; great pains were therefore taken to preserve its precise language, and to teach it secretly just before baptism; || while the Rule of Faith varied in its expressions, and was delivered openly.

Probst points out another difference, which is not without interest: the Rule of Faith consisted of two members, the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity being mentioned (as in the apostolic sermons) after our Lord's ascension, the account then returning to the second coming; while in the Creed, from its connection with baptism, the Holy Ghost is the subject of a separate article. This is, however, not so absolute as he represents it to be.

But the distinction between the Creed and the Rule of Faith must not be too strongly pressed. For, in the first place, the different instances of the latter which have reached us have so many features of resemblance to each other and to the Creed as to suggest that this was a compendium of the public teaching of the Church, from which it was derived, compiled for the use of

* Or iii. 3, 1.

† Ep. lxi. 7; Ed. Hartel. Firmilian's use of the word (lxxv. 11) seems, however, to imply that Symbolum was even then the generally received term for the Baptismal Creed.

‡ 2 Tim. i. 13, 14. The absence of articles before *υποτίπνωσιν* and *υγ. λογ.* suggests that the phrase had already acquired a technical meaning.

§ IV. 26, 4.

|| St. Cyril, for instance, bids the "competentes" whom he is instructing learn the Creed which he repeats to them, "word for word;" "having a care, that no catechumen should overhear what has been delivered to you."

the faithful in that public profession of faith which had to be made by the newly baptized from the earliest times.* Secondly, the early Eastern creeds, as far as we know them, were ampler in language, more variable in expression, and therefore much more like the Rule of Faith, than the Symbol of the great Church of the West. Probably this variability—designed to meet heresies as they arose†—was the chief reason why the Creed of Nicæa so easily took the place of them all, even before the Council of Ephesus directed that no other should be used at baptism. A few Oriental symbols are, however, extant, independent of Nicene influence; for instance, the formularies put forward by Arius and Eunomius, the Creed of the Council of Antioch which ordained Gregory to take the place of St. Athanasius, that which Dom Touttée extracted from the Catecheses of St. Cyril, and the Symbol recited by Charisius before the Fathers at Ephesus. These are enough to show that the Ante-Nicene creeds of the East were more like the Roman Symbol than those drawn up in the councils. We shall presently use them, in the same way as the Rule of Faith, to prove the great antiquity of the Apostles' Creed. The Western Symbol, on the contrary, owes its continuous existence to the zeal with which its literal identity was preserved. Of this there is abundant evidence. St. Ambrose tells us that in his day "Rome kept ever uninjured the Symbol of the Apostles;" and Rufinus, that "in other Churches some additions are found, but in the Church of the city of Rome, this is not the case."‡ The Creed was asserted by the same witnesses to be derived from the Apostles; but not by them alone. St. Leo and Cassian, and a host of later writers, testify to the universal belief of the West, which indeed found expression in the very term, "Apostles' Creed." The word *σύμβολον* being not unnaturally thought in the West to mean something made up of many contributions, it came to be supposed that each Apostle had contributed an article; and this in its turn developed into the well-known legend that assigns each article to its supposed author.§ There is a striking parallel to this in the

* The "profession" (*ὁμολογία*) made on the occasion when St. Timothy "was called to eternal life" can hardly have been any other than this. So, too, St. Justin (*Apol.* 61) speaks of the person to be baptized expressing his belief and assent (*τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκαταθεμένον*).

† In the West there was less tendency to modify even the Rule of Faith to meet new heresies. (See Tertullian, *Adv. Hermog.* cap. i.)

‡ St. Ambrose, *Ep. i. ad Siric.* Rufinus, *Expos. Symboli.* cap. iii. As Probst remarks, we may accept the latter's testimony to the fact, without endorsing his reason, that it is because heresy was unknown in Rome.

§ Pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 240 (Hahn, *sect.* 46).

East, in the Rule of Faith as described in the Apostolical Constitutions,* which shows the universality of this belief as early as the third century. But the apostolical origin of the Creed was asserted nowhere else than in Rome; not even, as Dom Touttée remarks, in the Church of Jerusalem, where we should most of all expect to find such a tradition. Its constant prevalence, therefore, in the Church of Rome, and nowhere else, is a strong antecedent probability of its truth; but for detailed evidence we must look further.

Our first step must clearly be to ascertain what are the wording and date of the earliest Creed that has reached us. I have already remarked on the extreme importance which was attached to its not being written, but kept from non-Catholics; † Rufinus and St. Jerome are witnesses to this as well as St. Cyril. It is therefore remarkable that we find a complete example of the Creed as early as the fourth century. This is preserved in the treatise of Rufinus, to which I have several times referred. It will be most convenient to start from this; first trace the Creed upwards as far as possible, and then see how it came into its present state. The Creed of Rufinus runs as follows:—

“Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Christum Iesum, unicum filium eius, dominum nostrum. Qui natus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus est, iudicare vivos et mortuos. Et in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.”

This is identical, in all but a few trivial details, with the Symbols of the churches of Milan (as recorded for us by SS. Ambrose and Augustine‡), of Turin (as supplied by St. Maximus), and of Ravenna.§

Our next step carries us back some fifty years, to an interesting episode of ecclesiastical history. Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, was accused of heresy, and deposed from his see by a Council held in Constantinople in 337 or 338. He, with several other bishops, went to Rome to appeal to Pope Julius, who, “in virtue of the prerogative of the Church of Rome,” and “because the care of all belonged to him on account of the dignity of his

* VII. 4.

† This was the reason why the Creed was called “Symbolum,” a “tessera” or watchword. It is remarkable this Greek word was not so employed in the East (unless Firmilian’s letter be an instance); *πίστις* being used instead.

‡ So at least Caspari and Hahn, following Cardinal Mai, who discovered this MS. of St. Ambrose. Denzinger ascribes it to St. Maximus.

§ “*Et Maria Virgine*” appears to be the Roman form, instead of “*ex*,” as we shall see later.

See,"* restored Marcellus to his bishopric. St. Epiphanius has preserved for us the letter which he addressed to the Pope in his justification before leaving Rome after a fifteen months' stay there. This is a statement of the faith he had received from the Church in baptism, "and had learned from the Holy Scriptures, and from his forefathers in the faith." The main point on which he had to dwell was his belief concerning the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. This he supports by quotations from Scripture, and in the course of his argument introduces the Creed, saying, "I believe, therefore, in God Almighty," and the rest, as follows:—Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθενου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιά τῷ πατρὶ, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἅφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

It will be seen that this is identical with the Symbol of Rufinus in all respects but the omission of the word "Father," and the insertion of the last article. These two peculiarities have been the only basis for several hypotheses concerning this Creed. Swainson supposed it to be Marcellus' own composition; but the similarity to the Roman Creed is so complete as to make this highly improbable. Moreover, Marcellus' object being to establish his orthodoxy, the very worst course he could adopt would be to put forward a creed of his own, and the best to profess the Symbol which the Roman Church held in such veneration. Lequien and Meyers, more weighty authorities, looked upon it as a translation, by Marcellus himself, of the Roman Creed. I cannot here follow the minute examination—spreading over fifty pages of his work—in which Caspari shows that this is opposed to all the internal evidence of language and order of words. It will be sufficient to remark that there could have been no reason for a fresh translation. A creed must have existed for the use of the Greek-speaking Christians of that city. Nor is the original letter likely to have been written by Marcellus in Latin, and translated by St. Epiphanius; for the Pope, we know, was acquainted with Greek, while there is no evidence that Marcellus knew Latin, a rare accomplishment among the Oriental bishops at that time. It is much more natural to conclude that the two variations are due to an error of the copyist, especially since the extant MSS. of this part of the "Panarion" are derived

* ἄτε προνόμια τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας ἐχοῦσης (Soc. H. E. ii. 13.), τῶν πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσηκόνσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου (Sozom. H. E. iii. 8.)

from only one source, and that we have here the Symbol used by the Greek Christians of Rome in the fourth century. This is further proved by a coincidence which is of particular interest to us in England. There is in the library of the British Museum a MS. (Cott. MSS. Galba A. xviii.) called "The Psalter of Æthelstane," at the end of which, in a collection of collects and miscellaneous prayers, are a Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Sanctus, and the Creed in Greek, but written in Anglo-Saxon characters. This volume, as Heurtley and Caspari have shown, must have been written in the ninth century, and have been used for liturgical purposes. Considering the absolute conformity of the Anglo-Saxon Church to that of Rome, we are justified in supposing that the Creed must have been brought from Rome, and one is inclined to think that it was introduced by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, or Abbot Hadrian, into England. However this may be, we have here a creed identical in all but trifling points with that of Marcellus, except that it has the word "Father" and omits the last clause. It therefore corresponds completely with the Symbol of Rufinus. Whether the Greek or the Latin form of this Creed is the original, or whether both date back to the earliest times, is not clear. There are Græcisms in the Latin Creed and Latinisms in the Greek one,* but neither sufficiently distinct to prove translation. And if we look at the general conditions of primitive Christianity in Rome, we shall not find much more to help us to a positive conclusion. No doubt the Greek-speaking Christians preponderated there for a considerable time. Besides the evidences of catacomb inscriptions, we find the few traces of public worship show that it was carried on in Greek. But there are, at the same time, signs that Latin was also used by the Roman Christians; such as the Latinisms of St. Mark's Gospel, the use of the word "statio" by the Greek Hermas, and the early date (before 170) of the Latin translation of his work. We should, therefore, think it probable that two versions of the Creed, a Greek and a Latin one, have existed side by side from very early times. This is confirmed by an examination of the Rules of Faith. One at least in Tertullian † (a Roman Christian by baptism) is connected with the Greek Symbol; while that of Novatian seems to be based on a Latin creed.

In seeking evidence of the antiquity of the Roman Creed we first

* *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* before *ἀναστάντα* is a Latinism; while the use of the infinitive "iudicare" is a Græcism, though one not without parallels in the classics and in Tertullian.

† Virg. Vel. i. The articles describing our Lord's life are all expressed by participles, as in the Greek; "natum ex Maria virgine, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis," &c.

naturally turn to the accounts of the Rule of Faith given by the early Fathers. For although, as I have shown above, they are not identical with the Creed, yet they are closely connected with it, and in several instances we are in doubt which is being referred to by the writer. Thus St. Irenæus speaks of "the immovable Rule of Faith which the Catholic has received by baptism";* and St. Justin apparently refers to the Creed in at least three places, as he is treating of exorcisms, for which it was very early employed.† But there is quite sufficient evidence in Tertullian alone that a creed had been in existence for a considerable time in his day, that it had been communicated as a password by the Roman Church to that of Africa, and that it was essentially, at any rate, the same as the Creed of Rufinus. To prove the sufficiency of tradition, he says, many things are done in the Church without any warrant in Scripture, but in virtue of a "consuetudo inveterata"; and he takes, as an example, baptism, in which the Christian answers "something more than the Lord directed in the Gospel."‡ This tells us of a baptismal creed containing something more than the profession of belief in the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Elsewhere we are told the candidate for baptism professed "the law of the faith," one of the synonyms for the Rule of the Faith.§ From other passages it is clear that the baptismal profession included our Lord's birth, passion, and resurrection, and a belief in Holy Church.|| In a still more formal manner, he tells us that the Church of Rome had a password in common with the Church of Africa; and that this began with a profession of belief in the Creator, went on to the Incarnation, and ended with the resurrection of the flesh.¶ We have thus identified, from Tertullian's account of the Creed as distinguished from the Rule of Faith, the Roman Symbol of Rufinus with that current in Tertullian's time; and, putting the date of his works at the beginning of the third century, we may safely say the same Creed must have been recognized at least as much as fifty years earlier.

* Cont. Haer. i. 9, 4. ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινής, οὐ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐληψέ; which is presently spoken of as ἡ ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένη ἀληθία.

† See Dia. l. 85, 126 and 132, with Otto's valuable notes.

‡ "Ter mergitaur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit" (Cor. Mil. 35). The antiquity of the "consuetudo" may be estimated from the date of this treatise, which is put at latest at A.D. 203.

§ De Spectac. 4, compared with Virg. Vel. 1, and Praesc. Haer. 14.

|| De Bapt. 6 and 13.

¶ "Videamus quid (Romana Ecclesia) didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis ecclesiis contesserarit. Unum Deum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Iesum ex Virgine Maria, filium Dei Creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem" (Praesc. Haer. 36).

Having got so far, we may now call in the various accounts which have been left us of the Rule of Faith, and compare the Creed with them. For St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Justin and Origen agree so closely in their manner of stating the Kerygma, that we cannot doubt they had some common formula before them all; and that this must have corresponded very nearly to the Symbol of the Church of Rome.

I am not able, nor is it necessary, to give all these in detail, for any one who wishes to study the subject can easily verify my statement, but I must point out the differences between them and the Roman Creed.

In the first place, it is remarkable that we do not find in the accounts of the Rule of Faith any mention of the Church or of the forgiveness of sins; but there can be no doubt Caspari correctly ascribes the omission to these two articles not being required for the purpose for which the Rule was generally quoted—that of refuting the Gnostics. This is confirmed by St. Cyprian, in the next age, mentioning these very clauses, as soon as they were needed to oppose heresy.*

On the other hand, there are certain points *omitted* in the Apostles' Creed as we have it in its early form, which are found in the other Creeds and Rules of Faith; and these are of great importance, as enabling us to fix approximately the age of the Roman Symbol.

For it is easy to see how additions should have been made to the statement of Christian doctrine, or to its abbreviation, the Baptismal Creed; while it is quite inconceivable that an article once incorporated by the Church's teachers in either of these should be omitted, especially when the heresy which it contradicted was actively dangerous to the faith of Catholics. Thus, it is very striking that we do not find the word *ἕνα*, "unum," before "Deum" and "Iesum Christum," in the Roman Creed. The first "unum" is found in every one of the Oriental Creeds, and in all the accounts of the Rule of Faith, without exception; the second in all save the Apostolic Constitutions and the Antiochene Symbol. Now, the Church in Rome was greatly troubled by heretics between the years 140 and 167, and it would have been specially important to have retained the affirmation of the unity of God against the Gnostics, had it already existed in the Creed used there. We may, therefore, safely conclude that these two words were added in other Churches to exclude Gnosticism; that the Roman Creed was earlier than such

* The "Interrogatio Baptismi" of the Novatians, and therefore of the Catholic Church before that schism, contained the question: "Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam per sanctam Ecclesiam?" (Ep. 69.)

additions, and therefore more ancient than the middle of the second century. The same applies to the absence of the article "Creatorem caeli et terrae." The Father must have been defined to be the Creator at a very early date; for this is found, with emphasis, in Hermas, in St. Justin, and the other apologists; in the versions of the Rule of Faith given by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and the Apostolic Constitutions, as well as in all the Oriental Baptismal Creeds. It is, of course, evident that it must have been one of the first articles of faith proposed to the heathen, as in St. Paul's sermon at Athens: "Deus qui fecit mundum et omnia quae in eo sunt" (Acts xvii. 24).

This, again, carries our Symbol back before the rise of Gnosticism in the middle of the second century.

The absence of "Catholicam" as an attribute of the Church is a less decisive proof of the antiquity of the Roman Creed, but tells in the same direction. The first instance of its use in a technical sense* is in the Muratorian Canon, about A.D. 170, and very soon after we find it used in controversy with the Montanists, and by Clement of Alexandria; by the middle of the third century it became general. This omission, then, dates the Roman Creed before the rise of Montanism. "Vitam aeternam" is found in St. Irenæus' and Origen's account of the Rule of Faith;† and, in one shape or another, in all the extant Eastern Creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Again, a clause connecting the Holy Ghost with the prophets was part of the Kerygma as known to St. Justin, St. Irenæus, and Origen, and is found in St. Cyril's Creed, that in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in many later ones. It can be traced back, of course, to St. Peter and St. Clement;‡ and could not have been omitted from the Roman Creed after the spread of Marcionism.

I believe, indeed, that a claim to even higher antiquity might be made on this ground alone. Let it be remembered that from before the middle of the second century, Rome was the place to which heretics chiefly flocked, some to make proselytes in the capital of the world, others more boldly striving to gain the ear of the Popes, and to make the Holy See their accomplice. Some

* Lightfoot appears to me to prove that St. Ignatius (Smyrn. 9) does not employ the word technically. Its use in the letter of the Church of Smyrna (A.D. 169) is well known. It is most remarkable that St. Irenæus, to whom the catholicity of the Church was such an important dogma, should never have the word; but perhaps "*communes ecclesiasticos*," the name given by the Valentinians to the orthodox (ii. 15, 2), may have been a translation of this.

† Adv. Haer. i. 10, 1; De Princ. Praef. 5.

‡ 2 Pet. i. 21.; 1 Clem. xlv. 2, *et passim*; St. Justin, Apol. 61; St. Iren. i. 10. 1; Orig. De Princ. 5. St. Justin treats it as part of the baptismal profession.

of them at least had been Catholics, two even members of the Roman presbytery. Heretics and Catholics alike appealed to the identity of their teaching with that of the Apostles; thus St. Polycarp brought many heretics into the Church by asserting that he only taught what he had received from the Apostles and delivered to the Church; while the followers of Artemon argued that all the early Christians, and the Apostles themselves, taught as they did, and that the Holy See had only fallen into error after the time of St. Victor. The baptismal profession was watched with special care, as we know that tampering with it was one of the principal charges brought against Novatian,* hence in such surroundings it is inconceivable that a new Symbol could have been recently introduced into the Church, or altered afterwards, without provoking challenge and criticism. How could Tertullian have appealed to the Rule of Faith, "which had anticipated all heresies;" or how refrained from pointing his bitter invective, when he left the Church, with some mention of what would have been such a damning fact?

Such an acknowledgment of the Roman Creed, by friend and foe alike, surely implies an antiquity of at least fifty years, and carries us back to the end of the first century, and to sub-apostolic times.

We shall be led to the same conclusion if we compare the Creed with the New Testament and the earliest Christian writings which are left to us. It is of course in absolute agreement with Holy Scripture in substance; but its language is not borrowed from it, as is the case with the later Creeds, after the Canon of Scripture had been established. Its modes of expression rather run parallel to the New Testament, and where they differ, as they do in some remarkable particulars, the Creed coincides with the language of the earliest Apostolic Fathers; who also, as is well known, do not use the precise words of the New Testament so frequently as the writers of the next age.

I. For instance, "omnipotentem," *παντοκράτορα*, though common in the Old Testament, is confined in the New almost exclusively † to the Apocalypse, in which it is frequently used, being especially attributed to the Father.‡ It is equally connected with the First Person of the Trinity in St. Clement, who often uses the word; but does not, I think, occur in other Apostolic Fathers.

II. The construction "credere in aliquem" is practically unknown to any of the New Testament writers except St. Paul and

* Euseb. H. E. iv. 12; v. 28; viii. 8.

† For 2 Cor. vi. 18, refers directly to the Old Testament.

‡ For instance xix. 7; xxi. 22. So, too, St. Justin often uses the word, and especially connects it with the Father (Dial. 136).

St. John, the former of whom uses it not uncommonly and the latter frequently.

III. The word *θάπτω*, "sepelio," is not mentioned in any of the accounts of our Lord's death, except (the exception is notable), 1 Cor. xv. 4, where we have seen St. Paul appears to be quoting from the Rule of Faith.

IV. "Resurrexit a mortuis" is to be found at the end of St. Paul's sermon at Athens, where we may suppose, as I have pointed out before, that he was following the lines of the *Kerygma*.

V. "Ascendit in caelos," *εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*. The singular is read in every passage in which the ascension is spoken of in the New Testament; * I do not notice it in any of the Apostolic Fathers. St. Justin has the singular.

VI. *ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς* is read in Marcellus' Creed, following the universal rule of the Epistles, while in the Synoptic Gospels *ἐκ* is used.

VII. "Sanctam Ecclesiam." The adjective does not occur as applied to the Church in Holy Scripture, though we have it spoken of as "sanctified," and the faithful are called "saints." It is very common in the Apostolic Fathers,† and still commoner in the next age.

VIII. But the most remarkable verbal peculiarity of the Creed is the phrase "carnis resurrectionem." In Scripture we always find the resurrection said to be from, or of, the dead; and whenever the corporeal resurrection is mentioned, it is the body, and not the flesh, that is said to rise again. The language of the Creed, therefore, here departs from that of the New Testament. But we find an instance of the same in the Epistle of St. Clement,‡ who quotes Job xix. 26, substituting *σάρξ* for *δέρμα* which is the text of the LXX. he follows elsewhere. We are reminded of the parallel manner in which St. Ignatius emphasizes the reality of our Lord's Body against the Docetists by the frequent use of the word "flesh" applied to it. It can hardly be doubted that the word is chosen in the Creed for the like purpose, to exclude disbelief in the reality of the bodily resurrection. This was a heresy current in the second century, but which existed in Corinth in St. Paul's day.§ So that this divergence from the letter of Scripture, which at first sight might

* But see Acts ii. 34 (where David is spoken of), and Eph. iv. 10.

† Barn. 14; St. Ign. Trall. Inscr.; Mart. Pol. Inscr. The adjective does not come in St. Clement. I may note in passing that Harnack points out that the holiness of the Church was connected as early as Hegesippus (Euseb. H. E. iv. 22) with purity of doctrine.

‡ Cap xxvi. 3.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 12-56; Tatian, Theophilus, the so-called second letter of St. Clement, St. Justin, are further but later witnesses to the importance which the heresy had in the second century. So, too, Hermas (Sim. v. 7); *βλέπε μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου, τὴν σάρκα σου τάντην φθαρτὴν εἶναι*.

seem adverse to the antiquity of the Roman Creed, is, as Caspari acutely points out, really in its favour. Whether he is also correct in believing that the Creed was brought from Asia Minor to Rome in sub-apostolic times, I cannot say. There appears to me no ground for conjecturing this rather than its independent composition in Rome, or (as the old legend has it) before the separation of the Apostolic College. If I hazard an opinion, it is to remark upon its likeness to the thoughts and language of St. Clement, and to suggest that its form may, in part at least, be due to that great Pontiff, "in whose ears was still ringing the Kerygma of the Apostles," and "who delivered the tradition he had lately received from them."*

I have now traced the Apostles' Creed to the highest point which the evidence known to me enables us to reach, and have next to show how it grew into its present shape. But for this, and for the further question, whether the primitive Christians derived its authority from Scripture or from the Church, I should need more space than I can now ask; and I therefore hope to deal with them on another occasion.

Meanwhile, it will be seen that the main result of an inquiry that I fear I have rendered wearisome is to prove that the Apostles' Creed, as we now have it, is slightly altered and expanded from the Baptismal Symbol of the Church of Rome in the middle of the second century, which in all probability is more ancient still, and goes back to the immediate successors of the Apostles. I can find, then, nothing in modern research to contradict, and much to confirm, the constant tradition of the Church, embodied finally in the Tridentine Catechism, that the Roman Creed is of apostolic origin. I wish I could at the same time have imparted to my readers the luminous manner in which the continuity of the Catholic belief stands revealed on reading the original documents of primitive Christianity. This is a pleasure that amply overpays the labour of Patristic study: it is to have conversed oneself with the children of the Apostles, and heard from them the lessons which they had so lately learned from the Son of God Himself.

J. R. GASQUET.

* St. Iren. iii. 3, 3.

ART. IV.—THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

IN the three hundred and thirtieth year from the "new departure" ordered by Elizabeth, *de facto* Queen of England, in 1558, a conference met at Lambeth from July 7 to July 28, 1888, inclusive. The *Times*, indeed, terms this "the third decennial Council of the Anglican Church." But a council must be called by somebody, and it does not appear either who was empowered to call this meeting, or who actually called it. It has, however, published what it calls an "Encyclical Letter," addressed, the *Guardian* informs us, "to all Christian people." It heads this letter with the words—

We, Archbishops, Bishops, Metropolitans and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in full communion with the Church of England, 145 in number, all having superintendence over dioceses, or lawfully commissioned to exercise episcopal functions therein, assembled from divers parts of the earth, at Lambeth Palace, in the year of our Lord, 1888, under the presidency of the most Reverend Edward, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, after receiving in the chapel of the said Palace the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, and uniting in prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, have taken into consideration various questions which have been submitted to us, affecting the welfare of God's people, and the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world.

The meeting which uses this language does not say, I observe, that it has been called together by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or that he has any right to call it together or to preside over it, or that it has elected him to preside over it. It limits itself to the bare fact that it is assembled under his presidency. It says also nothing of its own right of jurisdiction over "God's people," or its title to consider "the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world."

The one person who has issued "encyclical letters" for the last eighteen hundred years addresses them to the "Patriarchs, Primate, Archbishops, and Bishops in communion with the Holy See." The 145 bishops of this meeting "commend to the faithful the conclusions at which we have arrived."

What "faithful"? "God's people" who are affected "by the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world" is all the specification we can find. And we may notice here that when "the Church" is mentioned in this document, while the terms used of it would only suit the Catholic Church throughout the

whole world, the people meant are only those in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The language is as wide as the application is narrow.

All those, indeed, who have ever been members of the Anglican Communion will be well aware of this use of the words *the Church*. On innumerable occasions it simply indicated the Established Church of England. But on those same occasions it was intended to carry to the hearer's mind the force of the Holy Catholic Church, the being of which is recorded in the Apostles' Creed, and a belief in it recited by Anglicans at least every Sunday next to the Holy Ghost. It was a proof, the more remarkable because so unconscious, how the Elizabethan Christianity of the British Isles had supplanted the idea of the kingdom of God upon earth.

It is time to state who the 145 are. The *Times* affords the requisite information.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and thirty-three bishops of the Province of Canterbury; the Archbishop of York and eleven bishops of the Province of York; the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin and nine Irish bishops; the Primus of Scotland and five bishops; the Bishop of Minnesota (representing the presiding Bishop of the United States) and twenty-eight American bishops; the Metropolitan of Fredericton and eight Canadian bishops; the Metropolitan of Guiana and six West Indian bishops; the Metropolitan of Sydney and three Australian bishops; four bishops from New Zealand; six from South Africa; four from the Canadian territories; and the remainder missionary bishops, including the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Bishop of Jerusalem and the East, who exercise chorepiscopal functions. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol acted as episcopal secretary; the Dean of Windsor as general secretary; and the Archdeacon of Maidstone as assistant secretary. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided at all meetings of the Conference.

We know that the inscription of our Lord's regal title on the Cross was written in three languages—Hebrew, Greek and Latin—in which the Fathers saw a mystical meaning. But it would seem that in the nineteenth century, "the Church," "God's people," was only to speak English: for we observe that all these bishops are either bishops of the British Empire, or, as in the case of the bishops from the United States, have retained the English language which came to them along with their episcopal lineage in the original ordination derived from a commission issued by an Archbishop of Canterbury.

The bishops of a certain council, which met a few years ago in the central shrine of Christendom with the successor of St. Peter at their head, convoked by his word from all the regions of the earth, spoke likewise all the tongues of the earth, as those

who witnessed the Pentecostal miracle, and issued their decrees in a language common to all bishops. But the reason of this distinction between these two bodies is so plain that he who runs may read it.

The 145 bishops are all the issue of a certain Matthew Parker, who was put, at the "new departure" above mentioned, contrary to all previous rules during a period of 950 years, by the power of one who was herself no legitimate occupant of the throne, into a place which it was not hers to grant. Let it never be forgotten that, from St. Augustine in 596 to Cardinal Pole in 1558, the Archbishops of Canterbury sat in that see by mission from the See of Rome. As St. Gregory sent the first, so his successors sent every one who came after in that long interval. The whole structure of the English hierarchy was the work of St. Gregory.* The two metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York are traced out in his extant letters. Every archbishop of the two chief sees, and every bishop in their several provinces, during that immense period, derived his mission from the Pope. The Sovereign, whether Saxon, Dane, Norman, or Angevin, may have selected or recommended the person; or, again, the chapters have elected him canonically, but in every case the spiritual authority which placed him in the see, whether as metropolitan or as suffragan, and so gave him spiritual jurisdiction, was that same authority which sent St. Augustine from the Cœlian hill to England, which continued on St. Gregory's successors, which was derived to them from St. Peter. The Red King persecuted one Primate of all England, and the Count of Anjou, becoming King of England, murdered another, but the Plantagenets, through fourteen descents of the crown, knew only of bishops who sat in their sees by authority of the Holy Apostolic See. There were after the Norman Conquest many struggles as to the limits of the spiritual and the civil power; many attempts to control supposed abuses by civil enactments; but the whole law of England, whether civil or canon, the conscience of every man, the facts of daily life, acknowledged that in spiritual matters jurisdiction came from the Pope. The Archbishop of Canterbury was his *legatus natus*. So it went on for 930 years, till a Tudor arose who set up a spiritual supremacy in the king, which Dr. Brewer, as I shall quote him later on, attests to have been unknown before, carried it out by ruthless executions, the like of which, says Mr. Gairdner, had never been seen in England before, broke every law, divine and human, to obtain possession of a woman whom he presently

* See the thirty original letters of St. Gregory given in the third volume, pp. 5-38, of Haddan and Stubbs' "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," 1871.

beheaded, and by whom he left an adulterine bastard daughter to consummate his work. The 145 bishops of this meeting date their origin, hold such orders as they have, and derive their jurisdiction from that daughter's work—from her assumption to bestow, as Sovereign, ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

I shall recur to this subject, but at present I would wish to estimate at its due value the importance of the meeting itself. Upon this the *Guardian*, not venturing on the name of Council given to it by the *Times*, writes as follows :—

The result of the great meeting at Lambeth is now before us, in the form of an "Encyclical Letter" to all Christian people, accompanied with resolutions on the various questions dealt with, and with the reports of the committees who were charged with the special consideration of these questions. For the formal resolutions alone is the Conference to be held responsible. The "reports of committees can only be taken to represent the mind of the Conference in so far as they are reaffirmed or directly adopted in the resolutions."

The *Guardian* adds :—

There can be no doubt of the importance of the document. No such meeting of the Anglican Episcopate has ever been held, either for number or authority. The Conference of 1888 has meant business. It has met without authorization or notice from the State, simply as a body representing the spiritual and religious aspect of a great communion, but representing it in due form and order, in its separate provinces, with their metropolitans and primates. And to an extent which is new it has ventured to examine and discuss some difficult questions, and to speak its mind about them. This by itself gives the meeting a more serious character than any assembly in our time of representatives of the English Church. It is a new thing among us.

But it seems that even the "Encyclical Letter" cannot be fully accepted as indicating the mind of the represented Episcopate. For the Bishop of Liverpool writes to the *Times* on August 14, saying :—

It appears to be commonly supposed that the Lambeth Encyclical contains the formal deliberate unanimous opinion of all the 145 bishops who attended the so-called Pan-Anglican Conference.

Allow me to state that this is a complete mistake. I myself for one had no voice or hand in drawing up the Encyclical. I saw no rough draft of it after it was drawn up. I never read a line of it before it appeared in the columns of the *Times*. In short, I must disclaim any responsibility for its contents.

The bishop says also that he does not pretend to criticise the Encyclical, he only wishes the public to understand that it is not the united and harmonious voice of all the bishops of the Anglican Communion. Then he adds words of gravest moment :—

One glaring defect, however, in the Encyclical I cannot refrain from deploring. That defect is the conspicuous absence of any reference to the "*unhappy divisions*" about the doctrine and ritual of the Lord's Supper which are at this moment convulsing the Church of England, and will certainly bring on disruption and disestablishment unless they are healed.

The existence and formidable nature of these divisions it is vain to deny. To my eyes they are of cardinal importance, and appear to require far more attention than the condition of the Scandinavian or Greek Churches, or the Old Catholic movement.

Some expression of humble regret for these divisions, some strong desire for properly-defined conditions of peace, some proposal to attempt the restoration of godly discipline and the creation of satisfactory ecclesiastical courts, some bold declaration that, with the utmost degree of toleration, *our Church will never re-admit the Mass and auricular confession*, or go behind the Reformation—a few plain statements of this kind would have immensely improved the Encyclical, greatly strengthened the Church of England, and cheered the hearts of myriads of loyal Churchmen.

Alas! about all these points, the Encyclical is painfully silent. Against that silence I enter my solemn protests.

I remain yours faithfully,

J. C. LIVERPOOL.

Pitlochry, Aug. 14.

The Archbishop of Canterbury loses not a day in replying to this public protest from one of the suffragan bishops. He writes to the *Times* on the 16th of August:—

The draft Encyclical Letter, embodying the reports and resolutions of the month, was, after full notice on the previous days, read over, first as a whole, and then again for discussion paragraph by paragraph, in the presence of the whole Conference, with the exception of the few bishops (eight, I believe, out of 145) who were on that day prevented by illness or other causes from being present. From the Bishop of Liverpool's letter in your columns I gather that we had not, unfortunately, the advantage of his presence for co-operation and criticism on that day. But the Encyclical Letter was, as I have said, considered by the Conference with the utmost care, and several not unimportant changes were made before it was resolved, without a dissentient voice, that I should sign it on behalf of the Conference.

The Bishop of Liverpool, who is now absent in Scotland, would, I am sure, wish that this correction should be immediately made public, in view of the misapprehension which his letter might otherwise perpetuate.

I am of course sorry that any suggestion which the Bishop of Liverpool might have wished to make for additional sentences was not made in the Conference rather than afterwards.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EDW. CANTUAR.

Lambeth Palace, Aug. 16.

In two days more the Bishop of Liverpool issues a rejoinder:—

THE LAMBETH ENCYCLICAL.

To the Editor of The Times.

SIR,—I have read with attention the Archbishop of Canterbury's reply to my letter about the Lambeth Encyclical, which appeared in your columns on the 15th instant.

I am much obliged to his Grace for the explanatory information which his letter contains. I suppose I must now assume that the Encyclical was approved by all the 137 bishops who were present when it was finally adopted, and that it represents their united judgment.

Of course, if this interpretation is correct, I find myself placed in the unpleasant position of being one of a very small minority! But even if I stand alone I cannot change my opinion. If I had been present at Lambeth, instead of being detained at Liverpool by pressing diocesan engagements, I could not have voted for the Encyclical as it is.

Once more let me remind your readers that, although I do not like some things in the Encyclical, I do not object so much to the things present in it as to its omissions. I must and will maintain that an important document like this, purporting to be the voice of a large number of Anglican bishops, gathered together on a very solemn occasion, *ought to have contained some distinct reference to the "unhappy divisions" about the Lord's Supper, which threaten to break up the Established Church of England unless speedily healed.*

These divisions were specially noticed in one of the two former Lambeth Conferences. I think it was an immense mistake not to notice them in 1888.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

J. C. LIVERPOOL.

Pitlochry, Aug. 18.

On the same day the Dean of Durham sends to the *Times* statements so remarkable, as coming from so high a dignitary of the Church of England, that I feel bound to quote them:—

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND DAILY PRAYER IN CHURCHES.

To the Editor of The Times.

SIR,—Writing from a different point of view, may I beg to express the gratitude which many clergy of various opinions will feel to the Bishop of Liverpool for the plain and outspoken expression of his mind with regard to the "Lambeth Encyclical." Like him, I feel all the respect for the Conference to which so large an assemblage of prelates in communion with the Anglican Church, and the gravity and earnestness of their advice on many of the most important questions, both social and religious, entitle it; *but, like him, I feel too, that, from whatever causes, it has entirely abstained from giving the Church of*

England any help in some of its most pressing needs; that there is a "conspicuous absence" of any attempt to heal divisions; and that on matters where no such divisions ought to exist, such as the wider opening of churches for daily worship, to which your article has given due prominence, the time of the Conference might have been more wisely occupied than in fanciful and unreal suggestions to unite the Church of England with the Dutch or Scandinavian, or the rather incongruous mixture which is called by the name of "the Old Catholic." But while I feel with the Bishop of Liverpool that some matters of great practical importance have been strangely overlooked at the Lambeth Conference, and am grateful to him and to Lord Grimthorpe for insisting on the fact that the statements of the Lambeth Conference are of no actual authority, I am still more grateful for your own article of August 16, in which you dwell on what, if it is really feasible, would be a great movement for the Church of England to undertake—the general and real opening of English churches for the purpose of daily private prayer. If the Archbishop of Canterbury and the numerous prelates and laity whom he appears to have consulted intend really and thoroughly to take this in hand, it will be a great movement; far greater, no one can doubt, than attempts to combine inharmonious elements, which would only make our Church, now perhaps the most divided in opinions existing, far more divided than she is already. . . .

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

W. C. LAKE.

Deanery, Durham, Aug. 18.

On this same subject, thus stirred by the letters of the Bishop of Liverpool and the Dean of Durham, the *Guardian*, which is far enough from representing either of their "different points of view," to use the Dean's expression, has some remarks which I introduce as leading to the grave matters on which I shall next have to enter with regard to the Conference.

We cannot help thinking that, while the Conference was engaged on the subject of our "unhappy divisions," an opportunity was missed for saying some words of soberness and weight on matters deeply concerning the Church at home, such as could have come from no other assembly. While its committees were busy with these interesting questions of bringing back Nonconformists and knitting closer the bonds of unity at home and abroad, at its very doors were beginning two suits, two pieces of litigation—costly, obstinate, bitter litigation—likely to drag on for years, promoted by an association established to institute and maintain litigation, which for years has disturbed the peace of the Church, and tried by systematic terrorism to set up a religious tyranny over its ministers from the lowest to the highest. Every one knows what the points in dispute are; every one knows why, unimportant in themselves, they are important from their circumstances; every one knows what is the object of the association; every one knows how possible it is to turn law, even wise and sound

law, much more obscure and antiquated law, into an instrument of grievous wrong. Litigation, even with clear right on the side of those who set it in motion, is the most hopeless means of settling theological controversies; and here is a body professing to speak in the name of the Church, and devoting itself to the discovery of dexterous legal means for worrying its theological opponents. Of course, if the contention that the Church of England is Puritan is right, the object of this association, and then, perhaps, too, the means are right. But would the Conference accept the Puritan contention? And if not, was not this deplorable and mischievous system of litigation, encouraging intolerance, inflaming passions, narrowing fair liberty, wasting strength, and widening and deepening the breaches between the various parties in the Church, important enough to engage the attention of the Conference? Could it have done a worthier thing than to have thrown the weight of its authority, in the interests of justice, charity, and peace, against this system of organized litigation, which from time to time opens afresh the sources of discord, *and not obscurely threatens a second time the ruin of the English Church?*

It is thus that we learn from the occasion of a meeting of 145 Pan-Anglican bishops, and by 137 of them issuing an encyclical letter that representatives of the three chief parties, which together constitute their communion, consider that dissensions exist which threaten "the ruin of the English Church." All the three agree that these dissensions concern what one of the three calls "the doctrine and ritual of the Lord's Supper"—that is, the doctrine and ritual, which were set up at the "new departure" which I mentioned above, of the Elizabethan Government. The "doctrine and ritual," divisions on which are, the Bishop says, "convulsing the Church of England," date from 1558, up to which time, during fifteen centuries, a doctrine and ritual had come down in the whole Church of God, with unbroken descent. This doctrine and ritual had prevailed in the English Church for nine centuries and a half: and was brought to it from the Roman Church after a transmission of nearly six centuries more. St. Bede's writings exist to show that a hundred years after St. Augustine's implanting of it, it flourished in the English Church exactly as it flourished in 1558. *This doctrine and ritual is so great, says Cardinal Newman, that it is "the formal cause, the constituting right of the Catholic Church: where it is not, there is no Church."* When Elizabeth came to the throne, on hearing Mass for the first time, she commanded the bishop who celebrated not to elevate, at the words of consecration, the host and the chalice for the adoration of the people. It was thus she intimated that in the five years of her sister's reign, during which she had professed herself to be a Catholic, and by the belief of Catholics in her sincerity had obtained their support, she had practised one prolonged act of simulation. Thus she

proclaimed her disbelief in that great mystery, her rejection of "the constituting rite of the Catholic Church," of which it is said, "where it is not, there is no Church." She ordered that adoration not to be offered, of which the great St. Augustine said that in his day every one offered it.* And she presently made prelates of like mind with herself, whom she thrust into the vacant sees of her kingdom, to reject the rite consecrated by the practice of 1500 years, and construct a new doctrine and rite, the very purpose of which was to destroy the adoration, and with its destruction to express disbelief that "the Gospel priest offers Christ in His body and blood for the living and the dead, and that by virtue of such offering he is a priest." The doctrine and the rite, which was thus introduced by order of Elizabeth, is that concerning which it is now said by these three authorities that fatal dissensions exist. In plain words, a certain party is trying to compel the Archbishop of Canterbury to call the Bishop of Lincoln to account for using certain practices such as, in a timid, hesitating way, would intimate a sort of belief in the rite "without which there is no Church"; but which the Bishop of Liverpool would consider to be a restoration of the worst errors of Popery. And between these two bishops, the actual Archbishop of Canterbury, who signs the Encyclical Letter addressed to "God's people" by bishops "assembled from divers parts of the earth," has to stand in helpless mediation, shocked at his brother of Liverpool, hoping not to be obliged to touch his brother of Lincoln, and carefully ignoring in the Encyclical that there is any dissension on a matter so intimately concerning the doctrine and practice—nay, the whole status of the communion over which he is said to preside. Moreover, the cause of dissension lies in the confusion produced in men's minds by "the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies" which were all that the daughter of Anne Boleyn allowed the new Church she was setting up to substitute for the clear, distinct, magnificent ritual of the Catholic Church. The ritual thus put aside had been used in England by thirty generations of Christians, and by every Sovereign except her half-brother, who had died an infant of sixteen, from Ethelbert to Mary Tudor.

* The words are on the Psalm xcvi. "Adore His footstool. I ask what is His footstool? And the Scripture tells me, 'the earth is My footstool.' In doubt, I betake myself to Christ, for it is He whom I am seeking here. And I find how the earth is adored without impiety, how His footstool is adored without impiety. For He took earth of the earth, since flesh is of the earth, and of the flesh of Mary He accepted flesh. And because in very flesh He walked here, and gave the very flesh to us to eat for salvation, but no one eats that flesh unless he has first adored it, we have found how such a footstool of the Lord's feet may be adored, and not only we do not sin in adoring, but we sin in not adoring."

What I have said is surely enough to show that there is an abyss between the doctrine of the Catholic Church, also that of the English Church which was embraced in it, as that doctrine was held and expressed, and daily carried out in worship for so many hundred years, and the doctrine and the *non-worship* substituted for it in Elizabeth's Church. It is the Nemesis of her sin which is now distracting her Church.

But I think it may not unreasonably be felt that the meeting of the bishops, and their issue of what they assume the right to call an "Encyclical Letter" to "God's people in divers parts of the world," is a challenge to all who are concerned to consider the basis on which they stand themselves. To speak at all as bishops, and much more to issue as bishops a collective letter, they need two things: the possession of valid orders and the possession of lawful jurisdiction. And no less a third thing, without which both orders and jurisdiction would be ineffectual—that is, truth of doctrine. There is a fourth thing, also, which may be said to embrace the three preceding, and to form an absolute condition for any authoritative utterance—it is, communion with the Catholic Church throughout the world.

It is also to be borne in mind that these four things shed a mutual light upon each other. Not only do they shine encompassed with a common light in the general history of the Church. They have one undivided life. Therefore they must be considered together in the history of what I want a name for, that thing which the Pan-Anglican Conference represents. Anglican orders, Anglican jurisdiction, Anglican doctrine, and Anglican *non-communion* with the rest of the world-wide Church, are most closely bound up together. Their common progenitor, Matthew Parker, if ordained at all, was ordained by a ritual, not the ancient ritual of the Church, but altered to suit the notions of certain Lutheran-Calvinistic-Zuinglian innovators. The intention of this ritual was to make *not* a priest who should be a priest because he offered at the altar "Christ in His Body and Blood for the living and the dead," which was the ancient belief of the Catholic Church in the East and the West, which may be found testified in transports of joy by the Fathers in general, specially by the two St. Cyrils and by St. Chrysostome; which is expressed as strongly in the Eastern as in the Western liturgies; which is now the belief of the Catholic Church in communion with the Pope; which is no less the belief of the actual Greek and of the Russian Church, the Monophysite Coptic Church, and the Nestorian—not in communion with the Pope—but who have sacerdotal succession. The ritual out of which Matthew Parker came was intended to make a minister: *not* one possessing these awful powers; *not* one hearing confes-

sions, and exercising in hearing them a jurisdiction transmitted to him from above, the possession of the whole Church, and imparted by the Church to her living organs in various degrees. Matthew Parker, and the bishops acting with him during the whole reign of Elizabeth, persecuted to the utmost such priests. It was death to execute that office, death to celebrate in England the rite which for 950 years had built its cathedrals, hallowed its churches, and been the life of its people, the nurture of its saints. St. Augustine, St. Dunstan, St. Anselm, St. Edmund, St. Thomas, Hugh of Lincoln, and Robert of Lincoln would have turned with indescribable loathing from Matthew Parker, and from all ordained by Matthew Parker's rite, and from all who celebrated Matthew Parker's Eucharist; and equally for four reasons: the first, because of his orders; the second, because of his doctrine; the third, because he drew all his claim to jurisdiction from the civil power; the fourth, because he was an outcast from the Church.

Did then these orders convey, after all, that very thing which the Queen who made the ritual, and the bishops who carried it out, pursued with the bitterest animosity during forty-four years?

Nine years ago Cardinal Newman asked a question which, so far as I know, has never been answered. Rather, after the manner pursued on so many occasions, it has simply been *ignored*. For I must confess that in one point those who are unwilling to be convinced show their skill. They are quite aware that to *ignore* is, in Teutonic phrase, "todtschlagen." To take no notice is, they think, more profitable than to attempt to refute. Cardinal Newman's question is this:—

Has not the Anglican hierarchy, has not the English people, in its faith, in its formularies, in its acts, stripped itself of Christian truths and Christian gifts, and (as the Ritualist grants, or, rather, maintains) such as are essential to the idea of Christianity—gifts which he has not power now to claim back at his will at the end of three centuries, and which to claim, without tradition to support the claim, is but a confession of their irrecoverable forfeiture?

To this point the author [to whose work the Cardinal is writing a preface] addresses himself. Of course what he has to allege tells against all Anglicans, but it tells against Ritualists more forcibly, because those very gifts which they claim to share with us Catholics are maintained by their co-religionists to be, not truths, but corruptions, "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." But to claim awful gifts, and to pretend to awful powers, which, if their fellow Anglicans are to be believed, they have not, is to play with edged tools; and inasmuch as our author believes this to be the case with the religious men in question, as it was once his own case, and in proportion as he feels, from the associations of former years, a sympathy

with and a near interest in them, and believes in their honesty, so does he hope that they will give him a patient hearing in a matter which concerns them, as it once concerned himself.

Now if the Catholic view of the *Sacerdotium*, as residing in the Christian Ministry, be a truth of revelation; if, nevertheless, it is not, and never has been, held by any Anglican minister, since Anglicanism existed, till the last thirty years; if Anglicans, I say, have neither believed in the existence of such a gift, nor professed to use it, nor taught and honoured it; if, rather, they have called it a "blasphemy"—who shall say, without a great paradox, that suddenly a small minority of the Anglican body is possessed of it, while the main body persists, not simply in ignoring it, or in being ignorant of it, but in knowing it too well as claimed by us Catholics, and denying utterly that such a gift was ever made by our Lord to any one? Sacraments the Church of England has ever claimed, but never sacrifice. It never, in the Ritualistic, in the Catholic sense of it, has been professed by any Anglican party till now. We know well what is a High Churchman; one who holds the Episcopal form of government, the Apostolic succession and baptismal regeneration, perhaps the Real Presence, not the *Sacerdotium*. Of course all Anglicans, all Protestants, will admit the word "sacrifice" as a synonym of divine worship, and the word "priest" when used as correlative to this "sacrifice"; but what does "sacrifice" thus accepted mean? We cannot ask for a better authority than the very learned, careful, temperate Waterland, perhaps the greatest authority on a question of doctrine among all the Anglican divines, and he in his treatise on the Eucharist thus writes:—

"That the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in whole or in part, in a sense proper or improper, is a sacrifice of the Christian Church, is a point agreed upon among all knowing and sober divines, Popish, Lutheran, or Reformed. But the Romanists have so often and so grievously abused the once innocent names of oblation, sacrifice, propitiation, &c., perverting them to an ill sense, and grafting false doctrine and false worship upon them, that the Protestants have been justly jealous of admitting those names, or scrupulously wary and reserved in the use of them.

"Mr. Mede, a very learned and judicious divine and Protestant, scrupled not to assert a proper sacrifice in the Eucharist (as he termed it), a material sacrifice, the sacrifice of bread and wine, analogous to the *Mincha* of the Old Law. . . . In the year 1642 the no less learned Dr. Cudworth printed his well-known treatise on the same subject, wherein he as plainly denies any proper or any material sacrifice in the Eucharist, but admits of a symbolic feast upon a sacrifice—that is to say, upon the Grand Sacrifice itself, commemorated under certain symbols. This appears to have been the prevailing doctrine of our divines, both before and since [*i.e.*, down to 1737]. There can be no doubt of the current doctrine down to Mr. Mede [A.D. 1635]; and as to what has most prevailed since, I need only refer to three very eminent divines, who wrote in the years 1685, 1686, 1688. . . .

"The service therefore of the Eucharist, on the foot of ancient Church language, is both a true and a proper sacrifice, . . . and the noblest

that we are capable of offering when considered as comprehending under it many true and evangelical sacrifices: 1, the sacrifice of alms to the poor and oblations to the Church—not the material offering, but the service; 2, the sacrifice of prayer; 3, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; 4, the sacrifice of a penitent and contrite heart; 5, the sacrifice of ourselves; 6, the offering of the mystical Body of Christ—that is, His Church; 7, the offering up of true converts or sincere penitents to God by their pastors; 8, the sacrifice of faith and hope, and self-humiliation in commemorating the Grand Sacrifice.

"From hence, likewise, may one understand in what sense the officiating authorised ministers perform the office of proper evangelical priests in this service. They do it in three ways: 1, as commemorating in solemn form the same sacrifice here below, which Christ our High Priest commemorates above; 2, as handing up those prayers and those services of Christians to Christ our Lord, who, as High Priest, recommends the same in heaven to God the Father; 3, as offering up to God all the faithful. . . . In these three ways the Christian officers are priests or liturgs."*

Cardinal Newman proceeds to say, in his own person:—

Catholics, then, and the Ritualists hold that in the Holy Eucharist the Gospel priest offers Christ in His Body and Blood for the living and the dead, and that, by virtue of such offering, he is a priest. Is there not an infinite difference between such a *Sacerdotium* and that which Waterland, in the name of the succession of Anglican divines, claims as Christian and true? If all those writers have abjured and rejected it down to 1737, the date of his treatise, may we not go on to say that they have repudiated it from 1737 down to 1830 or 1840? Whence then did Ritualists get so marvellous a gift? Did Episcopacy include it? Then must Anglican ordainers have intended to communicate it. Is it included in the form of ordination? Then where are the words which declare it? Surely, it is too momentous, too awful a gift to be transmitted in silence. It constitutes a new religion. It is the formal cause, the constituting rite of the Catholic Church—where it is not, there is no Church. How can the gift be real, and its profession, its use, its application, not essential? How can a religious communion which teaches, which observes so wonderful an act be one and the same communion with a body which disowns it?

If you do not like Waterland, find for us some one else who will give you some sort of countenance in your straits. Who, in the question of the *Sacerdotium* rises higher than Mede, Bull, Johnson, and Hicke, as explaining the Eucharist to be a material sacrifice of bread and wine? or than Waterland, and many more, in considering it a spiritual sacrifice of the heart? or than Waterland, again, Cudworth, Sharp, and others, in accepting it as a symbolical present feast upon the past proper and real sacrifice on Calvary? What Anglican

* Waterland's Works, vol. vii. pp. 341-350. Oxford, 1823.

opponent of Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans ever claimed to offer Christ for the living and the dead? Who of such theologians did not believe a doctrine like this to be a bad superstition? What Anglican bishop has ordained with the intention of imparting the gift as Ritualists understand it? Would not every one of them have promptly repudiated such an intention had he been asked on the point? Would he not have granted that, supposing the Catholic *Sacerdotium* was an Anglican doctrine, the Anglican Church was no place for him? And that supposing it was the true doctrine, there was no *locus standi* for the Anglican Church? If I mention names in illustration, it is in no disrespect towards the owners of them, for some of them were personal friends of mine, whom I loved and valued; but because, as being High Churchmen beyond others, and yet not dreaming that they possessed this gift, they present the most telling contrast with the professions and observances of the Ritualists. Such are, or were, Dr. Ogilvie, Mr. Hugh Rose, Dr. Lyall, Dr. Hook, Dr. Faussett, Mr. John Miller, Bishop Selwyn, Bishop Wordsworth. Such were Bishop Bethell, Bishop Van Mildert, Bishop Mant, Dr. Routh, and Dr. Collinson. In the foregoing century High Churchmen were scarce; but did such pious and strict men as Bishop Horne and Jones of Nayland, did philosophers, as Butler and Berkeley, hold the doctrine of the *Sacerdotium*, or perform its characteristic rite, as the Ritualists do now? To go back still further, will not Hickes and Johnson, to whom Waterland refers, fairly represent the theology of the Non-Jurors, and was not the greatest altitude of thought in Hickes and Johnson the sacrifice, not of a victim, but of material bread and wine? Did Beveridge or Bull, Taylor or Hammond, Pearson or Barrow, ever deny that "the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt" were *blasphema figmenta* or *perniciose imposturae*? Was the creed of Bramhall, Laud, Field, and Jackson more adverse to so stringent an anathema?

Is not the contrast here drawn out by Cardinal Newman a sufficient reason for the fact that in the course of three hundred and thirty years no one ordained by the rite from which Matthew Parker and his issue descend has been admitted to be a priest by the Catholic Church? No Anglican bishop has been admitted to be either bishop or priest; for if the priesthood has not been communicated, the man devoid of it cannot be a bishop. In that long period a great many Anglican ministers in the Anglican presbyterate, and some Anglican bishops, have approached as penitents the Catholic Church. In no case, after their reconciliation, have their respective orders been admitted. Again, in the course of ages, Greek priests, Russian priests, Coptic and Nestorian priests have become Catholics; and then, when their possession of the sacerdotal order was clear, the *Sacerdotium* in them was recognized. Again, never have Greek, or Russian, or Nestorian,

or Coptic prelates recognized the *Sacerdotium* in an Anglican minister. One heroic spirit in our own time, furnished with credentials from the late Archbishop Howley, travelled to Russia and to Constantinople, to learn by personal inquiry whether Russian or Greek would acknowledge Anglican orders. He spent many years in the prime of his life upon this inquiry. He attempted, with great learning and unwearied industry, to put the Anglican formularies in the shape most attractive to the Eastern mind. He discouraged a Russian lady of high rank, who consulted him, from leaving the Russian Communion. He was honoured by all who met him for the singleness of his purpose. "We owe much to that Anglican deacon," said the Archbishop of Moscow, but the Archbishop could not condone the heresies of the Thirty-Nine Articles, nor admit an Anglican to communion, nor would he recognize the *Sacerdotium* in an Anglican minister. It was the same with the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. However desirous, politically, Russian or Greek bishops, and still more the poor Nestorian in his mountains, or the remnant of Copts in Mohammedan Egypt, would be to stand on good terms with the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England (by grant of St. Gregory the Great), and first peer of the English realm, no one of them would venture to be present at his celebration of the Anglican Eucharist, or to receive what he could give from his hands.

In this fact we see the intimate connection of orders and doctrine. Let us proceed to the third point—of jurisdiction.

When Elizabeth Boleyn made Matthew Parker the first of her new bishops, she attempted to confer upon him the jurisdiction which had been exercised for ages by the See of Canterbury, as instituted originally by St. Gregory the Great, and continued on by his successors to the successors of St. Augustine. He was to exercise that jurisdiction in subordination to her—as derived from the civil power, not from the spiritual—just as Cranmer and his compeers submitted to take out licenses for the exercise of their episcopal powers from Cromwell, as Vicar-General of Henry in his newly invented supremacy. Of the invention itself Dr. Brewer* says, "a spiritual supremacy, an ecclesiastical headship, as it separated Henry VIII. from all his predecessors by an immeasurable interval, so was it without precedent and at variance with all tradition." That the Anglican bishops of the present day derive whatever jurisdiction they possess from this ecclesiastical supremacy exercised by the civil power, a late Prime Minister, Earl Russell, was so good as to explain to all the world in a letter to the *Times*, dated March 5, 1875. He

* Preface to "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 107.

gives the exact words in which every Anglican bishop, kneeling now before Queen Victoria as then before Queen Elizabeth, takes the Oath of Homage. They are:—

I, —, Doctor in Divinity, now elected, confirmed, and consecrated Bishop of —, do hereby declare that your Majesty is the only supreme governor of this your realm in spiritual and ecclesiastical things as well as in temporal, and that no foreign prelate or potentate has any jurisdiction within this realm; and I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty. And for the said temporalities I do my homage presently to your Majesty. So help me God.

I may be allowed to repeat here words which I used in quoting this oath nine years ago.*

"It would be impossible, I think, to desire a more unambiguous declaration that spiritual mission and jurisdiction are derived, in the Church which was set up by Queen Elizabeth, and continues what she made it, from the Crown, and from nobody but the Crown, than this charter professed by each of the bishops of that Church as he enters on his office. There is a completeness of statement about it which tells of the sheerness with which the Tudor axe severed heads, and does away with every attempt to palter and shuffle. From Elizabeth to Victoria every Bishop humbly confesses on his knees, 'I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty.' What is become of the successors of the Apostles? What of the jurisdiction belonging to episcopal, or metropolitanical, or patriarchal sees? Where, above all, is the mission of the world's Redeemer, 'Go and make disciples all nations?' The Elizabethan crosier is a stick which the temporal sovereign first lays over her bishop's shoulders, and then gives him to keep his clergy in order with."

The ecclesiastical headship invented by Henry, "without precedent, and at variance with all tradition," as the man in our days thought to be most conversant with the history of those times says, and who also lived and died an Anglican minister, was not an incomplete thing. Jurisdiction was part of it. And Elizabeth conceived it in the same completeness as Henry. As she manipulated orders and doctrine, so she gave the jurisdiction which was to dispense them. In that gift lay the difference as to jurisdiction between the old episcopate and the new, as in doctrine the *Sacerdotium* marked the distinction between the old priesthood and the new ministry. But had Elizabeth been the lawful heir to the crown, whence would she have got the power to send

* "Per Crucem ad Lucem," vol. i. p. 8.

labourers into the field sown by the Divine Word? Instead of Elizabeth's person, in which the civil power is shown to the utmost disadvantage, substitute the authority of the State itself, the second power in which the Church acknowledges the rule of human things to lie, by a delegation of the Divine authority. But the Lord of all things human and divine has not given spiritual jurisdiction to the secular authority. The secular power can, if it so choose, use the power derived from God to persecute His Church. This it did in the Roman Empire with more or less severity from Tiberius to Constantine. Again, it can enter into alliance with the Church of God and give to its canons, over and above their inherent spiritual force, the force of civil law, as Constantine and Justinian did. This union can proceed so far that, as in the case of Charlemagne, the civil Sovereign shall be regarded by all his people, and regard himself and be recognized by law and approved by practice, as the special defender of the Church; and in the legislation the bishops of a kingdom become temporal lords and chief counsellors of the king. This was actually the constitution of things in that cluster of European kingdoms which arose out of the Holy Roman Empire. In such a state of things the Canon Law of the Church becomes also the law of the State, and is supported by temporal sanctions. Such was the constitution of the English monarchy, as of many others, down to the time of Henry Tudor. In all that period the spiritual authority of the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, was seen in union with the temporal authority of the king. The two powers, the distinct domain of which Pope Gelasius defined to the eastern Emperor Anastasius in the last decade of the fifth century, lived on in harmony together. It was the dissolution of that harmony which the passion of Henry Tudor brought about. Elizabeth herself was the result of that passion, and with a full consciousness of her unhappy birth she repeated the dissolution. But she went far beyond her father in her abolition of the *Sacerdotium*, and of the great doctrine embodied in it—"the formal cause, the constituting rite of the Catholic Church." To these violations by herself of the Church's most sacred things, she added her father's crime, the seizure of the jurisdiction by means of which every action of the Church takes place, every appointment of persons is affected. As the abolition of the rite constituted a new religion, the seizure of the jurisdiction constituted a territory in which that new religion could be professed.

By the same stroke the doctrine, the religion, the practisers of it, became separated from the spiritual empire to which, up to that time, they had belonged. And in that severance they remain. That state of severance is brought out clearly to the sight of all, whether friend or foe, whether interested or indifferent, by the

"Encyclical Letter" of the Lambeth meeting. There they stand, beginning by asserting themselves to be "bishops of the Holy Catholic Church," while all that follows shows them to be separate from every one but themselves; separate in doctrine, in rite, in jurisdiction. Their own words will testify whether the greatest separation of all is in charity.

Their view of things would seem to be in exact accordance with their own status. It is when they come to the head "Definite Teaching of the Faith" that this appears. They recognize dissensions everywhere, but they have a very different mode of treating these dissentients, according as they are made up of those who spring from the great assault upon the Church in the sixteenth century, or belong to the Eastern churches, or the great communion of what they call the Latin Church.

As to the former—that is, the numberless sects existing in the United Kingdom and the American States—they say "we gladly and thankfully recognize the real religious work which is carried on by Christian bodies not of our communion. We cannot close our eyes to the visible blessing which has been vouchsafed to their labours for Christ's sake." In these also are comprehended the Scandinavian races. But towards the "Old Catholics" their hearts may be said to dilate with joy. It is not "possible for members of the Anglican communion to withhold their sympathies from those continental movements towards reformation which, under the greatest difficulties, have proceeded, mainly on the same lines as our own, retaining Episcopacy as an apostolic ordinance."

From these dissentients, who belong by lineage and yet more by spirit to the sixteenth-century movement, I proceed to the Churches of the East. With these the Conference expresses its earnest desire to "confirm and improve the friendly relations which now exist." What these are it does not appear. "These Churches have well earned the sympathy of Christendom, for through long ages of persecution they have kept alive in many a dark place the light of the Gospel. If that light is here or there feeble or dim, there is all the more reason that we, as we have the opportunity, should tend and cherish it, and we need not fear that our offices of brotherly charity, if offered in a right spirit, will not be accepted." The Eastern Churches, including the Russian, will, it is well known, have nothing to do with Anglican sacraments, but perhaps "offices of brotherly charity" is a delicate phrase for gifts of money, to the acceptance of which there may be no canonical impediment. At all events, the language is kind and benignant, though perhaps a little patronizing.

But now we come to the third class of dissentients, that wide communion from which Matthew Parker and his descendants

broke away in the sixteenth century. Here another language and another feeling at once appear. In the very offer of "offices of brotherly charity" to the Eastern Churches the bishops of the Lambeth Conference "reflect with thankfulness that there exist no bars such as are presented to communion with the Latins by the formulated sanction of the Infallibility of the Church residing in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and other dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils." And they go on to observe: "The Church of Rome has always treated her Eastern sister wrongfully. She intrudes her bishops into the ancient dioceses, and keeps up a system of active proselytism. The Eastern Church is reasonably outraged by these proceedings, wholly contrary as they are to Catholic principles; and it behoves us of the Anglican communion to take care that we do not offend in like manner."

I am not myself able to reconcile these words with those "chor-episcopal functions" which the Anglican missionary bishops of Jerusalem and of Gibraltar are said to exercise, the one in the East and the other in the West; the latter visiting, not only the "ancient dioceses" of the Western patriarchate, but Rome itself in the performance of duties which, I believe, the Bishop of London imposes on him.

But of all the suggestions made, none seem more noteworthy than that "individuals craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life may, by remaining in the Church of their baptism, become centres of enlightenment to their own people."

Is it allowable to consider this suggestion as an *ex post facto* admonition to Cardinals Manning and Newman, and those many ministers of the Anglican Church, who, in "craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life," have recognized the Church of their baptism in the one fold of Christ, into which alone Christ baptizes all who are baptized?

I have now followed the bishops of the Conference as in considering "mutual relations" they cast their eyes over the earth. They would seem to find themselves in communion with none, except such as descend, like themselves, from Mathew Parker. Not with all those various sects in the United Kingdom and America, in whom, nevertheless, overlooking their differences with each other and themselves, and their want of orders, they recognize "a real religious work carried on by the blessing of Christ." Not with the Old Catholics, from whom they cannot withhold their sympathies. Not with the Eastern Churches, whom they compliment on having kept alive the light of the Gospel through long ages of persecution. With all these they would like communion, but difficulties as yet not overcome prevent it. One other communion they single out, neither for praise nor for

partial approval, but for simple reprobation, as claiming infallibility, while it imposes false doctrines. It is the communion from which Henry Tudor and his daughter broke; of which their ancestors formed a portion during 950 years.

But where, then, in this year 1888 is the one Holy Catholic Church, of which they began by stating themselves to be bishops, while they end in declaring that "we are united with our Divine Head in the one Catholic and Apostolic Church?"

On the contrary, it would appear, as a matter of fact, that the 145 described by themselves as "archbishops, bishops, metropolitans, and other bishops," holding sees in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, the West Indies, British Guiana, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, all parts of the British Empire, and the United States, in which their people began as a sprinkling of English colonists when the States also formed part of the British Empire, have no communion with any not descended from Matthew Parker. Their episcopate, outside of England proper, has no bond. Its faith is not one. If such a thing can be called a community at all, Henry Tudor must be its Abraham, and Elizabeth Boleyn its Hagar. Is it wonderful that in the 330 years of wandering which the Ishmael who has come out of these sins has gone through, his hand has been against every man's, and every man's hand against him?

We, whose bishops are the brethren, whose people are the children, of Leo XIII., have one Catholic and Apostolic Church. We have "one episcopate, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole."* We find the necessary condition of such an episcopate exactly where St. Cyprian found it, in the Primacy of Peter, the beginning from one.

Where is *their* unity? Where is *their* one Church? Their whole "Encyclical Letter" proclaims that there is *not* one Church. They specially denounce the Church which is one, and the infallibility which is only compatible with oneness.

Is it not enough, as a final comment on such miserable unreality, to quote once more the words of the great Father, more astonishing, more convincing, because testifying to a greater miracle, in the nineteenth century than when he uttered them at the end of the fourth?

I only premise two remarks. No one of these 145 prelates even pretends that the communion which they claim to represent is itself the Catholic Church. Accordingly, no one of themselves, and no one person in that communion, believes *any* doctrine upon their authority as the authority of the Catholic Church. They are at the opposite pole from the words of the man I quote.

* St. Cyprian, "De Unitate Ecclesiarum."

I am held in the bosom of the Catholic Church by the agreement of peoples and nations; by the authority which took its rise in miracles, was nurtured in hope, reached its growth in charity, is confirmed by antiquity. I am held by the succession of bishops, down to the actual episcopate, from the very See of the Apostle Peter, to whom after His resurrection the Lord entrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic, which, not without reason, among so many heresies, that Church alone has possessed; so that, though all heretics would like to be called Catholics, yet if a stranger ask where the Catholic church is, no heretic would venture to show him his own church or house.*

T. W. ALLIES.

ART. V.—LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.

1. *Lady Georgiana Fullerton, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par MME. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN (née La Ferronnays). Paris : Didier Perrin et Cie.
2. *Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, from the French of Mrs. Augustus Craven.* By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. London : Bentley & Son. 1888.

THESE two volumes may be summed up in some words of Cardinal Newman's letter to Mrs. Craven, prefixed to her work :

A character and mental history such as hers, make her a fit representative of those ladies of rank and position in society who, during the last half-century, have thought it little to become Catholics by halves, and who have devoted their lives and all they were to their Lord's service.

We must begin by saying, though the words are scarcely needed, that, apart from the exceeding interest of the subject, Mrs. Craven's book is a production full of charm. It is, in fact, a most graceful work of art, touching upon its subjects with delicate lights and shades, and bearing the reader irresistibly along upon the comb of its continuous wave. And we venture to predict with confidence that the gracious flow of this latest "Story" of Mrs. Craven's will make its way into thousands of hearts, leaving behind it the beneficent germs of a plenteous harvest. The twin-volume, so to speak, of Father Coleridge, from which we shall quote, will have a still larger share among ourselves in

* St. Augustine, "Cont. Epist. Manichæi," 5.

this harvest. It is not, as he himself tells us in his admirable preface, either a faithful translation or an original work. There were points upon which, as an Englishman, he could speak with far more power and intimate knowledge than any foreigner, even a foreigner possessing the most ample information. Two of these points are, notably, the Oxford Movement and its results, both as to the Anglican Church and to those who left it; the other is the true position of Lady Georgiana Fullerton as an English writer. Upon a third point, that of the retrenchment of Lady Georgiana's spiritual notes by Father Coleridge, there will be a wide difference of opinion, but there can be none as to the fact that the English version loses by it in interest to the general reader. Yet there will probably remain a strong impression that the English public would have gained by a completely original work by Father Coleridge. Faults can undoubtedly be found in both these volumes, and trivial exception has been made to errors rectifiable with half a stroke of the pen. The one real fault, or ground of fault, is that the *Life* has been written too soon. Much as it might be desired and longed for by some, it was impossible to do it the full justice it demands while those nearest to her or most influential with her are still living. To develop in any fulness of completion a *Life* that depends upon character and spiritual development, and not upon stirring incident, for its colouring, is to tend perpetually towards either horn of a dilemma. On one hand, that of ruffling and wounding the sensibilities of the living by unveiling sacred and hitherto inviolable secrets; on the other, that of toning down and fining away the narrative till it is like an unshadowed picture wrought to an artificial and somewhat feeble smoothness of surface. Something of this last may be felt as to Mrs. Craven's "*Life*," which while in truth, as we have said, a consummate work of art, inevitably suffers from over-restriction and reticence. It is thus shorn, from the same obligation of circumstances, of a crowd of incidents and characteristic touches, known to other friends, which by throwing stronger lights and shades would materially enhance the richer colouring and perfection of the portrait.

While waiting for that more complete picture we may well meanwhile count up our golden gains in the present sketch, and once again express our hearty congratulations to Father Coleridge for the success of his very difficult task, which will carry this example of a noble lady far and wide where the companion volume must remain a book sealed.

Georgiana Charlotte Leveson Gower, being the youngest daughter of Lord Granville Leveson Gower (afterwards Lord Granville), son of the Marquis of Stafford, belonged by birth to the highest rank of our English nobility. Her mother was Lady Harriet

Cavendish, and being thus nearly related to the Dukes of Devonshire, Sutherland, Westminster, Norfolk, Beaufort, Argyll, and Leinster, as well as to the Earls Carlisle, Harrowby, and Ellesmere, she was born in the very inner circle of that great group of English magnates who, since the extinction of older blood in the Wars of the Roses, have sprung into the foremost ranks of our noble houses.

And, like those who are not only of the highest birth but the highest breeding, Georgiana Leveson was distinguished throughout her life by the utmost modesty and simplicity of character and manners.

It is regrettable that an autobiographical sketch of her early life, written during her later years, was never completed. It was undertaken at the request of Miss Giberne, a convert lady well acquainted with Cardinal Newman in the early days of the Oratory, and who afterwards became a Visitandine nun. When the notorious ex-Dominican, Giacinto Achilli, brought his action against Father Newman for charges published in his "Position of Catholics in England," Miss Giberne took charge of the witnesses who were brought by Father Newman from Italy, and wrote an account of her difficult task. This account she offered to Lady Georgiana Fullerton in exchange for an autobiography of her own life; and much gratitude is due to Miss Giberne's memory (she died in the Visitation convent at Autun) for the possession of this invaluable record.

I was born [it begins] on the 23rd of September 1812, at Tixall Hall, in Staffordshire. My father rented it in 1808, at the time of his marriage with Lady Harriet Cavendish, and retained it for several years. It belonged to Sir Clifford Constable, the head of a very old Catholic family. In the records of the days of persecution, frequent mention is made of it. . . . I cannot help connecting in some degree, in my mind, the fact of my birth and early years spent at Tixall Hall with my eventual conversion to the Catholic Church. I must have been the first child born in that house, outside the visible pale of the Church. May not the guardian angels of the place have asked for me the grace of conversion to the true Faith? My wet-nurse was a woman of the village, the inhabitants of which were, almost all of them, Catholics. Who knows that she did not say Hail Marys for the infant at her breast? And perhaps she may have taken me into the chapel which was enshrined amidst the ivied ruins, close to the house. I remember her very well, for as long as we lived at Tixall she often came to see me. I was only six years old when my father gave up the place to move into Suffolk with his family. I cried much at leaving my nurse, and said over and over again I should never see her more. . . . I never did see her again. It was perhaps a mere fancy, but the first time I heard Mass in the chapel at Slindon House in Sussex, there was something in the sight of a Catholic rural con-

gregation which made a strange impression upon me. I had then that sensation, so often experienced and remarked by others, by which, when one is in a place for the first time, one seems to have known it before, and all that passes seems the repetition of something one has already witnessed. . . . Perfectly I remember seeing the villagers walking on Sundays through the park on their way [to the chapel at Tixall] in long files, men, women, and children, and asked "where are those people going?" my being told, "they are the Roman Catholics going to their church" (p. 5).

It must be borne in mind, as Father Coleridge judiciously remarks, that Lady Georgiana in this short sketch of her first years had in view chiefly recollections of a religious kind, and thus was led to fasten on the few points which stood out as marking her growth in the knowledge of God (p. 3).

Here is another incident which distinctly shows the germ of that deep religious reverence of which her whole life was the outgrowth:

One of my earliest recollections is my brother Granville's christening [the present Lord Granville]. I was then two years and a half old. . . . Also very distinctly learning to read at a very early age, about three years old, I think, and the first time a notion of religion was conveyed to me it was at Tixall. I was kneeling before a sofa with a large book open before me, in which I was finding out and spelling all the words I could find of three letters. I put my finger on one, and said in a loud voice, G O D—God. My mother checked me, and said, "You must not say that word in that manner, it is a sacred word." She did not explain further, but the way she spoke and looked made me feel hushed and subdued. I may here remark, that imperfect and scanty as was the religious teaching I received in childhood, it had one marked characteristic—that was, the inculcation of reverence and the sacredness of matters and things connected with religion. We were never allowed to hold a Bible or a Prayer-book in a careless manner, or to speak of a clergyman without respect (pp. 5, 6).

It is strange, considering the discernment and experience of Lady Georgiana's admirable mother, that she should have made the mistake of taking her little girl out of the nursery at four years old and putting her under the care of her sister Susan's strict Swiss governess, Mlle. Eward, who evidently knew little about such very young children or how to manage them. One cannot but feel entirely on the side of rebellion when a child of four or five years old, tormented on a journey by a large, stiff, frilled collar, was punished for trying to pull it off or make it less unbearable, by having her toy-rabbit thrown out of the carriage window.

Lady Georgiana often comments upon her "rebellious nature," and declares that she "never remembers at that time a correc-

tion that did her any good, or an occasion on which she submitted without resistance." We, in truth, can only wonder at the marvellous character that not only escaped being embittered and hardened by the want of discernment and heavy hand of such training, but could in after-years look upon and accept the training as a true friend. Lord Granville Leveson left Tixall Hall in 1819, and carried his family to Wherstead Lodge, near Ipswich, when Georgiana, being then seven years old, was first taken to church in Albemarle Street Chapel, when the family went to London.

Church-going [she says] was most wearisome to me as a child, and I have hardly any religious impressions connected with it of a pleasurable kind, except of the holly and the hymn "Hark! the herald angels sing" (p. 9).

Like other children born early in the century, she had few books, although those few are not by any means to be despised, consisting of Miss Edgeworth's perfect stories, "Evenings at Home," "Sandford and Merton," and a few French story-books. She accuses herself of many faults, at some of which we feel inclined to demur. She was no doubt passionate and possibly capricious, but never could have been either "ill-tempered" or "untruthful," as she says. Her remarks that she was idle except when the lessons amused her; that she liked history, detested arithmetic, and was bored by geography, were probably perfectly true. Her literary taste, however, was to be cultivated unusually early.

When I was about ten years of age, the "Genie du Christianisme," by Chateaubriand, was given to me to read, and this was quite an epoch in my life. It opened a new world to me, and for the first time I learnt something about the Catholic religion. The poetry of the ideas and of the style fascinated me, especially in the chapters about saints and angels. I must have derived some sound ideas from the book, for one day I made my governess very angry by saying that, as the Apostles had founded the Catholic religion, I thought it must be the true one (p. 10).

A curious light is thrown upon the entirely foreign life and surroundings of this sensitive child, by her relating that once, when very angry with Mlle. Eward, she said within herself, "*Méchant femme! Je te maudis!*" and then, recalling with terror the text in the Bible, "He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death." For, she reasoned, a governess who had so long taken care of her, must be reckoned almost as a parent, and she was horrified, thinking herself worthy of death. This sin was borne upon her conscience till, long years afterwards, she made her general confession.

The latent, strong craving for this sacrament caused her to attach great importance to the public absolution used in the Anglican service; and when Mlle. Eward by her delays made them late for church, Georgiana would say to herself, "If she did but know all the bad things I have done, she would not make me lose the Absolution!" (p. 11).

Among her other acts of mismanagement, Mlle. Eward used to punish Georgiana by shutting her up in a room by herself, with nothing to do, which led her to live in a world entirely of her own creation, and which became her most perfect enjoyment. She began to put together poems, tragedies, and all kinds of fictions, partly "after" Shakspeare, partly the growth of her own dreamy and enthusiastic mind; and the habit of abstracting herself entirely from the outer world, no doubt much helped her afterwards in the passionate realism of her novels, tending also to their somewhat morbid tone of excessive feeling. Happily for Georgiana, there were many interludes of travelling abroad, children's balls, and going to the theatre. Some of her incidents are worth recalling. At the representation of "The Siege of Londonderry," when the famished city is relieved by an arrival of bread, the chorus, after the manner of choruses, showed their joy by singing; when the present Lord Granville, then five years old, with characteristic good sense cried out, "Why do they go on singing, and don't eat the bread?" In 1822-3, the Duke of Wellington, who was shooting at Wherstead, shot Lord Granville Leveson in the face, when he showed extraordinary feeling, the tears even rolling down his iron face. During that same visit, the Duke performed the much more incongruous part of acting in a charade, dressed up as an old nurse, while the afterwards Russian ambassadress, Princess Lieven, personated the baby.

In 1824, Lord Granville Leveson was appointed ambassador to the Hague, and Georgiana, for the first time in her life, lived continually with her father and mother, and much enjoyed the intercourse and change of conversation and scenes. Once she heard her mother say of herself, to one of the Embassy, "That child has such a passion for books, that one does not know how to supply them fast enough." He answered, "You should give her a great deal of history to read, with voluminous details." Georgiana characteristically adds that she much hoped this advice would be followed, for she was then extremely bored by books on natural history. The two girls, Susan (Lady Rivers) and Georgiana were there for the first time instructed in English grammar and composition, for hitherto all their schoolroom teaching had been in French. Towards the end of the year, her father was appointed ambassador at Paris, and removed his

family to that delightful Embassy, which became the beloved home of his youngest daughter for several years. Among the many amusing little incidents of the first years at the Embassy, which must be passed over, one must be told. Georgiana and her sister were at a children's ball given by the Duchesse de Berri, where de Montalembert, about her own age of fifteen or sixteen, asked her to dance a tumultuous sort of country dance called the "Grand-Père." She became very tired after a while, and wished to sit down, but de Montalembert exclaimed, "No, no; I should not be able to get another partner!" Georgiana remarks that her first impression of this dear, holy friend of after-years was therefore that he was a very selfish boy.

The study of Italian next opened a fresh field of interest to this ardent mind, but unfortunately her reading was chiefly confined to Metastasio and Tasso, a good deal of whose "Gerusalemme" Georgiana learnt by heart. It remained a lifelong loss to her that the great dramas of the "Divina Commedia" were ever a sealed book; and, as Mrs. Craven justly laments, it was a loss whose unfilled blank was sensibly felt by more than this one of her friends. It is a matter of wonder now, with so cramped and stunted a literary pasture, how that mind and imagination could be maintained so vigorous and full. Till Georgiana was seventeen, Miss Edgeworth's "Ennui" (Fashionable Tales) and Scott's "Tales of the Crusaders" were the only fictions permitted; while, on the other hand, and most inconsistently, Racine's tragedies, even "Phédre," were given entire into her hands. When she was about fourteen, that vivid little story, "Father Clement," by the precocious Scottish girl, Miss Kennedy, opened an entirely new vein of thought; and, as has more than once happened with the same tale, one leading exactly in an opposite direction to the writer's intentions. The story is the old controversy between the Church and Protestants, in which the force is naturally made to lie on the Protestant side. But the character of the Catholic priest, the Jesuit chaplain Father Dormer, is so finished and charming a creation as to carry away the imagination of the reader, and entirely to neutralize the effect of his own cause. Like others, Georgiana's whole sympathy sided with Father Dormer, and the benefits of confession and absolution—blessings for which she had always craved—were impressed more distinctly upon her mind. After reading "Father Clement," Georgiana one day went into a little room adjoining the schoolroom, knelt down and said, over and over again, "Blessed Virgin Mary, pray for me!" adding that she had the strongest feeling of the efficacy of *that* prayer. Mrs. Craven notes that exactly the same effect was produced by "Father Clement" on Comtesse Albert de la Ferronnays, the

subject of "*Le Récit d'une Sœur*;" and only lately a young convert lady has spoken of the strong and salutary effect of a reprint of the same story upon her mind as a help to her conversion.

In 1827 Lord Granville Leveson left the French Embassy upon a change of Ministry, and returned to England. This would have delighted his youngest daughter if they might have lived in the country, but a house was taken for them at Brighton, where the two girls were left with their governess, who had now become very exacting and irritable, and life there became for a time dreary and disappointing. The rooms were kept very cold, while the schoolroom food was of the scantiest and plainest sort. Nothing was permitted but milk and water and dry bread for breakfast, the same at supper, and a dish of roast meat, vegetables, and "plain" pudding at dinner. The greatest pleasure Georgiana enjoyed during that wearisome sojourn at Brighton was a short stay of her uncle, the late Duke of Devonshire, at an hotel. Many a time did she relate to a friend, in after-years, curious incidents of the delightful intercourse with this uncle in her girlhood, and dwell upon the acts of affection and genuine kindness which made him so universally beloved. His dignity was so real that he brought out the best breeding of those he was with, while his appreciation of fun was keenly enjoyable to children. "Even to spend a few moments with him," says his niece, "was amongst the greatest pleasures of my life, up to the time we lost him in 1858." Georgiana made her first real experience of the world, the pleasures of society and freedom from Mlle. Eward (with whom the last year of her schoolroom life, without her sister Susan, had been most wearisome), at the Duke's magnificent country-house. She had never before seen Chatsworth, and there is little wonder that to her it seemed the opening of Paradise.

The beautiful scenery, the magnificent woods, the immense gardens, the lovely, winding, rippling brook that flows along what is called the two-mile walk, and then all the pictures and statues in the house and gallery, and the beautiful drawings! (p. 48).

An amusing incident marked her first dinner at Chatsworth, where her neighbour was a grey-haired gentleman whom she did not know :

He asked me if I admired the new wing which had just been added to the house. I answered that I thought the house must have had a better effect without it (which is still my opinion). But I was horrified to find afterwards that the gentleman was Sir Geoffrey Wyatville, the architect, who had designed the said wing (p. 49).

Like all other really well-brought-up girls at that date,

Georgiana and her sister were still kept a good deal out of sight, and under that admirable and wholesome restraint which brought out women of the first distinction in manners and tone of mind. Their mother made them breakfast in their own rooms (that breakfast being still limited to tea and butterless rolls!), and study till luncheon-time, when they were permitted to take their place among the other visitors. This restraint, which most truly "sweetened liberty," gave them the keenest zest for the remainder of the day:

Oh! the enjoyment of the walks with other young people; the long drives in pony-chaises and four that went like the wind; the expeditions to Matlock, Hardwick, Haddon, &c. &c.; the dancing and acting of charades in the evening! One of the party we met at Chatsworth at that time was Mrs. Robert Arkwright, who lived at a place called Stoke, four miles off. She must have been then between forty and fifty. She had a face beautiful still, and full of expression. She was Stephen Kemble's daughter, and the dramatic talent of his family found vent in her singing. She had not much voice, but when singing the songs . . . the music of which she composed herself, her intonation and the expression of her wonderful eyes had a strangely pathetic and exciting power. . . . My enthusiasm was intense, both about her and her singing, and even now, if I play to myself some of those songs, I feel an emotion which carries me back to those days, fifty-five years back (pp. 49, 50).

We have given the whole of this passage of the autobiography because it throws a clear light upon the character of Georgiana Leveson, as it was from the beginning to the end. This character was, throughout, true to itself, though it was not given to all to discern that intense identity through all its external changes. Many times during her narrative Mrs. Craven uses the word "passion," in regard to it, and this word is eminently distinctive and true. The capacity for strong indignation, for exalted enthusiasm, for the ecstasy of enjoyment, for agonized grief, for the rapture of prayer, were all fed by the profound passion of a nature that held within itself the most powerful elements of good and evil. No one without this "inward fire" of passionate genius could have written "*Ellen Middleton*," still less conceived the marvellous emotions of "*Grantley Manor*," which has always seemed to us the crowning effort of the author's mind. Georgiana Leveson's autobiography unfortunately ends at a most interesting time, just when her experience of the sumptuous life in the inner circle of her high-born relations was widening from the slender rill to its broad and peopled stream. The last recorded event was Mr. Huskisson's lamentable death at the opening of the first English railway, from Manchester to Liverpool over Chat Moss, at which Lord Granville Leveson narrowly escaped with

life, and which took place in 1830, while his family were at Chatsworth. During the next year, Lord Granville Leveson again resumed his position as English Ambassador at the Embassy in Paris, when Georgiana was fully introduced to the gay world, and where, in 1833, both she and her sister Susan formed the attachment which decided their future lives. That of the elder daughter to Lord Rivers was in every way approved by her parents; but the proposal of Mr. Fullerton to the younger, Georgiana, at first met with a decided refusal from her father, and it was some time before her own most decided attachment was allowed to overbalance the various difficulties. Mr. Fullerton was then in the Guards (Blues), and was entitled to inherit considerable property in Antrim and Gloucestershire at his father's death, but meanwhile his means were small, and Lord Granville Leveson found it impossible to make his daughter an allowance suitable to her position and habits of life.

The Duke of Devonshire, who was a most affectionate uncle, stepped, like the fairy godmother, into this conflict of circumstances, and with his usual munificence added to the provision made for his niece. Meanwhile, Susan's marriage took place in Paris (1833), and she spent the first night of her honeymoon at St. Germain, whence Lord Rivers wrote to his mother-in-law:—"The treasure you have given me is perfectly well, perfectly happy, and perfectly adorable."

That same year Georgiana's marriage with Mr. Fullerton was also arranged, chiefly by the urgency of the Duke of Devonshire, and as her father was just then created an Earl, she became for the first time Lady Georgiana, instead of Miss Leveson, while her eldest brother took the title of Lord Leveson of Stone. She expresses her joy with her usual enthusiasm to Mdlle. Eward:

It is all arranged, dear Mdlle. Eward. I met him at dinner yesterday at Chiswick, and he told me that his father had written the very kindest letter possible to him, and . . . to-morrow morning after breakfast mamma and I are to go to the inn (Salthill), and there Mr. Fullerton and his father will meet us. . . . I never spent so delightful a day as yesterday; it was perfectly fine at Chiswick, in greater beauty than I ever saw it, and we walked together till we were almost dead with fatigue. He is reckoned extremely like my grandmother, the Duchess of Devonshire, and that was the first thing that made Uncle D. take such a fancy to him. I wish I could give you a good idea of him—I dote upon him, and I must say I think he is very fond of me. Mamma is quite come round to it (pp. 76, 77).

Lady Georgiana Leveson and Mr. Fullerton were married at Paris in the middle of 1833, and, after a visit to England, returned to the English Embassy there, which remained their

home, with intervals of travelling, for eight years. Mr. Fullerton left the Guards, and was appointed an *attaché* to the English Embassy, and during the next year a son was born to them, William Granville, who became the crowning joy and sorrow of both their lives.

The Fullertons left Paris in 1841, when Lord Granville finally retired from the Embassy, but Lady Georgiana had already begun to give her time and means largely to charitable works. To supply resources for some of these, she translated into English verse a poem of Firmin the poet of Languedoc, called "The Blind Girl of Castel Cuillé," and sent it with her name to *Bentley's Magazine*, unknown even to her husband. To her great delight she received twelve guineas for this, her first literary venture, and she was wont often to repeat that none of her great successes in the following years of her life gave her such pure joy as this first glimpse of her own literary power. But she was no real poet, as Mr. Bentley soon perceived, and, upon her sending him a second translation, he frankly advised her to turn her attention to prose. It was characteristic of her that, though much disappointed, she wrote on his letter (still preserved) these words, "That day I began 'Ellen Middleton.'"

In that novel, for the first time, her full character was unveiled to the world, and probably to herself. The charm, the interest, the refined beauty, the fervent imagination; above all, the vivid colouring of latent passion, gave it a vitality which is still felt after a lapse of four and forty years. "Ellen Middleton" was not published till 1844, but meanwhile essential changes had taken place in the author's life. Upon leaving Paris she and her husband went to Cannes, where Lord Brougham lent them his villa, then nearly the only habitable dwelling in the town. Thence they passed onward to Nice, where they mixed fully in all the good society of that gay place, going to the balls and parties, and even taking part with much zest in private theatricals. From Nice they went to Wildbad and Herrnsheim, a fine castle belonging to Lady Leveson as daughter of the Duke de Dalberg. From Herrnsheim they turned southwards to Rome, where they lived with Lord Leveson in the Palazzo Simonetti, in the Corso.

Beneath the whole of this "outer rind" of abounding occupation, gaiety and pleasure, which formed the flowery surface of the last few years, there had run a deep undercurrent of thought, of study, and of unceasing prayer through the lives both of Mr. Fullerton and his wife. During those years the speech and writings of Newman, Keble, Pusey, and Froude had stirred the world with the revival of Catholic doctrines and practices, and the seed thus sown was bearing fruit in ever-increasing abund-

ance and on every variety of soil. Mr. Fullerton, among others, while seeming only to be floating upon the brilliant surface of society and its refined pleasures, was spending his time in Rome in seeking instruction of those who could solve his doubts, throw light upon his questions, and unravel the intricacies of his silent studies. For throughout those months he never spoke, even to his wife, of the conflict warring in his soul. He allowed her to precede him, with her father and mother, to Florence, while he remained in Rome a few days alone, at the end of which he was received into the Church by the Jesuit Father de Villefort, on St. George's Day 1843. When he told Lady Georgiana, upon rejoining her at Florence, of the step he had taken, her emotions were a stormy compound of anguish and joy. She foresaw, as if by a lightning-flash, all that must follow. Her own future adjuration of a Church in which she no longer believed, her separation from her parents and her sister, the sacrifices to be made, and, above all, the pain and grief to her father; for although Lord Granville had reluctantly consented to his son's marriage with Lady Acton, it was probably one of the chief sorrows of his life to acquiesce in the decision necessary to that marriage, that their children should be brought up Catholics. From this, however, as Lady Granville was childless, he was spared.

After receiving, as it were, this earthquake shock, Lady Georgiana returned to London, where she submitted the manuscript of "Ellen Middleton" to the criticism of the varying judgments, but nearly equal affection, of two old friends, Lord Brougham and Mr. Charles Greville. The controversies raised by Lord Brougham upon reading the manuscript brought forth a very remarkable letter from Mr. Greville, who certainly could not be ranked among the men of that time who thought deeply upon religion. This letter especially marks the powerful influence that had been brought to bear by the Oxford movement upon men of the world, as in this case, by shedding a fresh light upon the perpetual necessity of the sacrament of Penance.

Besides being judged and commended by Lord Brougham and Mr. Greville, "Ellen Middleton" was unusually distinguished by being ably criticized by Mr. Gladstone in the *English Review*. Long years afterwards, Lady Georgiana Fullerton once spoke of the time succeeding the publication of "Ellen Middleton" as the most brilliant and intoxicating of her life. Sitting with a friend then closely intimate, in the exquisite gardens at Chiswick (at that time the property of her mother), she went back to a certain visit at Chatsworth, when her uncle the Duke was entertaining a large party of guests for shooting. In her own rich and vivid way she tinted the various scenes that rose to her remembrance, the gatherings of gentlemen, most of them relations, before the

house on starting, the swift carriages conveying the ladies to join them at luncheon, the defined, delicate flattery offered to herself as the young, successful author, and the far greater enjoyment of her own certainty of intellectual power; the brilliant autumn sunshine lighting up the glorious woods and the fragrant purple heather. She recalled the scenes as if they had been witnessed yesterday, heightened as they were by her warm affection for her uncle, and her unlessened sorrow for his loss, fully admitting their delight, while penetrated with thankful acknowledgment to God, who had snatched her from that passionate intoxication of worldly success, and opened her eyes to the joy of living for Him alone.

No words of the most eloquent preacher could have so illustrated that Divine joy as hers, while unconsciously revealing the sacrifice of those earthly delights that had been so fully tasted and so utterly renounced.

"Grantley Manor" was fairly on the way, when, in 1846, Lord Granville died, and while plunged into this great sorrow, his daughter was suffering also from the keenest strife of religious convictions within her soul:

It was a time of inexpressible anguish. During this period Lady Georgiana was an assiduous worshipper at the chapel in Margaret Street, which became so famous in the annals of "Puseyism." It was there that so many of those souls met, who soon afterwards found in the Catholic Church the logical issue of their aspirations. Since her return to England, Lady Georgiana had striven to find satisfaction to what were almost now convictions, by joining closely the movement in which she had taken an interest at a distance. It was one of the strangest movements that have ever been seen. For the Catholic Church then gained for herself a number of glorious conquests, almost without a combat. It was not by sending [out] apostles and missionaries that she brought so many souls back to her bosom. She was like a mother standing silent and motionless; with her arms only stretched wide to receive her children coming back to her from afar (p. 194).

In 1845, a date never to be forgotten, John Henry Newman was received into the Church, preceded by a few, and followed by a crowd, of the most distinguished men from the Anglican ranks, as well as by the Duchesses of Norfolk and Buccleuch, and the Marchioness Cecil of Lothian. The Jesuits had at that time their London house and domestic chapel in Bolton Street, and there the wise and saintly Father Brownbill, a few years later, instructed and received several of the more distinguished converts, among them, upon the same day (in 1851), Archdeacon Manning (of Sussex) and Mr. James Hope Scott. At this door in Bolton Street Lady Georgiana Fullerton now knocked, and poured out her tangled story of convictions, difficulties, disturbances, hopes,

and fears, sometimes, as she said, in a very contradictory condition, before that tranquil, restraining, but fully sympathizing presence. Father Brownbill instructed her, removed obstacles, and shed light upon difficulties without the least hurry or surprise, knowing well what the end must be, although, to the very last, she was subject to such disturbances as might have alarmed a less wise discernment. Just before her reception, one of these occurred, which Lady Georgiana liked to relate to her intimate friends:

"I am come to tell you, father, that I have changed my mind," she said. "I no longer think as I did yesterday, and decidedly it is not the Catholic Church that I wish to enter." Father Brownbill . . . listened to this declaration without moving a muscle. He sat silent, looking at the tips of his nails [his hand half closed], as he often did. At last he said quietly: "*And what is the Church, then, that you intend to enter?*" (p. 200).

Two days afterwards, on Good Friday 1846, Father Brownbill received Lady Georgiana Fullerton into the Church, and although her chief dread had been the sight of her mother's sorrow, there never was then, nor at any after time, the slightest interruption to the love and union of the whole family. It seemed even that her mother and Lady Rivers leant upon her thenceforward more entirely, and looked to her more distinctly than before as their comfort and joy.

It is not possible, much as we should wish it, to follow Lady Georgiana Fullerton through any details of her first years of Catholic life. All records of her husband's joy, and her own in his, are entirely absent from these volumes, and must be left to be imagined, for as they were never separated there are no letters to mark this time of complete reunion upon the most vital subjects. We cannot, either, dwell upon the wise direction of her first guide, Father Brownbill. Like himself, it was always clear, simple and direct, pointing entirely at the avoidance of every kind of excess or extreme, and aiming at founding solid practical humility in the soul. His notes direct that there should be ample time allowed for good sleep (lengthened when needed), but a punctually observed hour for getting up. No stress is laid upon bodily mortifications, the devotions were to be the usual morning and night prayers, Mass when possible, when not, the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in her own room. Part of every day was to be set aside for work—sewing or writing; and some letters were to be written every day. All praise or flattery was to be made use of by being turned to God, and whatever happened was habitually to be offered to the Sacred Heart. Every point in Father Brownbill's notes shows how persistently he strove to tranquillize and balance the exalted enthusiasm and passionate

aspirations, which, like arrows from an over-bent bow, might have led to brief, magnificent efforts and disastrous failure.

In 1847 "*Grantley Manor*" was published, and by making her heroine, Ginevra, a Catholic, and, in the strength of her faith alone, able to resist and overcome her terrible trials, Lady Georgiana was able to illustrate her own faith for the first time openly to the world. In the drawing of this character, and of the whole drama in which Ginevra moves, Lady Georgiana, as we have already said, seems to have reached the meridian of her intellectual strength; and by thus touching the deepest springs of human passion and pathetic feeling, created a work of genius which must always stir and thrill the same emotions.

"*Grantley Manor*" was followed by such an outpouring of applause and congratulation as might well have carried its author off her feet, had they not now been firmly planted upon the rock and steadied by the daily practice of Christian virtue. It is quite remarkable how the most variously minded people united in its praise, and especially in the good influence it was likely to exercise. The Duke of Bedford speaks of it as "full of talent usefully employed, and giving interest to good principles." Mr. Henry Greville, the younger brother of Charles, says to the author:—

It is so *pure*, so thoroughly Christian in all its sentiments, that it will do its readers more good than many books which are put into their hands for . . . improvement, and not . . . amusement. . . . In short, it is almost faultless (p. 217).

An amusing illustration of the absorbing interest of "*Grantley Manor*" was given by Fanny Kemble in a letter to Henry Greville. She was reading it at her dinner-time, and not being able to take her eyes from the book, put the mustard-pot to her lips instead of her glass of claret.

Unfortunately, one of the most important letters written to Lady Georgiana on the subject was lost, probably from being lent to others, and the answer only to Miss Edgeworth is preserved. From this long and interesting answer her exceeding gratification at this distinguished woman's praise can be gathered.

Following the plan of Mrs. Craven's "*Life*," it will be well to observe here that the series of Lady Gorgiana's succeeding works of fiction contained "*Ladybird*," a great falling off from the last; "*Too Strange not to be True*;" the "*Countess de Bonneval*," a charming and touching story, written in French, and published in the *Correspondant*; "*Constance Sherwood*," and the "*Stormy Life*." This last is full of very fine passages, and is carefully and laboriously worked up from historical records, but the labour is too apparent, and the sound of the workman's tools falls some-

what heavily on the reader. It cannot be denied, also, that the author's extreme scrupulosity, and her rigid submission of everything she wrote at that time to a perhaps overstrained censorship, deprived her later work of its former inimitable charm and richness of colour, and neutralized its effect by the elimination of the emotions which must always most powerfully command human sympathy.

After Father Brownbill's ministrations in London had ceased, Lady Georgiana was directed for some time by Father Faber, the Superior of the London Oratory, and thus fell under the influence of a mind with which her own had much in common. His vivid, emotional sense of beauty, and his continual reference of all beautiful created things to their Creator, the analogies in his sermons and letters, drawn, like those of St. Francis de Sales, from natural images, and the exquisite use he made of them to arouse the love of God in the soul, appealed in every way to her spiritual attractions. There was something analogous to the absence of the "*Divina Commedia*" from her intellectual treasury, in her repeating that she was "reproached with preferring Father Faber's sermons" to Father Newman's, adding, "this is perhaps true, but I admit also that it is a proof of bad taste." And again:

Father Faber spoke on this subject in the most eloquent sermon I have ever heard. . . . He preaches wonderfully, he moves me more deeply than Newman (p. 256).

The same cast of mind was also discernible in her singular lack of predilection for the use of the Liturgy and Psalms in the Offices of the Church. Lady Georgiana often spoke of this to a friend, and admitted that *Tenebræ*, and even Vespers, did not excite her to devotion. She preferred to accompany the Mass and Offices by other methods, and with a greater liberty of contemplation. In her later life, probably a sentence, even a single word, sufficed to bear her up into a kind of rapture of prayer. But this was long after Father Faber's work in her soul was completed, and she had passed under the more stringent and austere influence which welded the precious metal to its last temper and refinement.

The furnace heated for the beginning of this sevenfold process was already kindled in 1854, when, after a time of intense enjoyment in Rome itself, and in introducing their only child to the supremest influences of the Holy City, the Fullertons returned to Wilbury Park in Wiltshire, a place they had taken chiefly on Granville's account. The Crimean War was at its height, and Granville Fullerton, who, like his father, had chosen the army as his profession, was called upon to join his regiment, now serving in the East. Granville himself was eagerly looking forward to joining the army, but in Rome he had had a return of an attack

of the brain which filled his mother with foreboding. The decision was left to a consultation of doctors, who pronounced that it was impossible for him to go out to the East, and although in this decision there was a certain relief, as he would be still within reach, his grievous disappointment was most painful to her. Possibly this very disappointment hastened the end, which came after a fresh, sudden fit, while he was staying at his Uncle Lord Rivers' house at Rushmore. He had not quite completed his twenty-first year.

The supreme bolt had thus fallen, and from that moment, the whole of Lady Georgiana's former life, with its crowd of enthusiastic joys, its radiant sunshine, its brilliant successes, was changed. All that bright chapter was closed, the roll was folded together, and its thrilling interests and scenes became to her like a tale that is told.

Dr. Manning (now Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster), to whom Lady Rivers had wisely telegraphed the news, met Mr. Fullerton in the Park, and took him home. Lady Georgiana was carried to her bed, and Dr. Manning sat beside her for some time (p. 328).

The change now wrought in this noble character was swift, entire, and absolutely lasting; as Mrs. Craven justly says:

When she gave the reins to her imagination she could command at will the most ardent, the most expressive, and the most eloquent language. But she had no language to express her feelings, in all their intense and deep reality. . . . The shattering blow which had now fallen on her was one unlike all others. It reached the most profound depths of her soul. It was to break irrevocably all her ties with earth (pp. 330, 331).

From that time till her death, the long thirty years to come of a full and laborious life, Lady Georgiana scarcely ever spoke of her son. Once or twice she wrote of him to her niece, Miss Pitt (Mrs. Oldfield), once or twice she spoke of him to the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk, and once she permitted a friend to go to her room, directing her to draw back the curtain from Granville's picture, while she herself went into another room. Even to her husband, the usual sharer of all her thoughts and feelings, she was dumb. Her mind seemed to brace itself thenceforth for the burthens of life by renouncing every slight gratification and pleasure hitherto permitted, by devoting herself unweariedly to the cheer and support of her stricken husband, and by unremitting work for the poor. Neither she nor her husband ever put off their mourning, and Lady Georgiana adopted a fixed mode of dress of the poorest description, which distinguished her for the rest of her life. Her love of personal poverty was probably yet

more deeply implanted two years after her son's death by enrolling herself at Rome (1856-7) in the third order of St. Francis. It is not recorded under whose direction this step was taken. The death of their son left the Fullertons again without a home. Wilbury Park became distasteful to them, and was given up, and, having no motive for securing or embellishing any fixed home, they were wanderers for some years. This kind of life no doubt was of service to Lady Georgiana in mortifying her preferences and tastes, and helped her to cultivate much of the same detachment from places and surroundings that is practised in religious communities.

They did eventually, however, settle again at Slindon Cottage, in Sussex, near the old house of the Newburghs and Leslies, in a most charming down country, and with an exquisite garden, which became a great resource to Mr. Fullerton. Slindon is within easy reach of Arundel, where the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk was still making her home; and her warm and deeply sympathizing friendship was of the utmost comfort and support to Lady Georgiana.

Another friend, whose visits to Slindon were a genuine refreshment, was Cecil, Lady Lothian, who was not only associated with her in all her work for the poor, the wretched, and the desolate, but her bright, joyous, natural character, her originality of mind, and limpid, piquant simplicity made her one of the most charming of companions. It was, indeed, a rare treat to see those three distinguished women together. All of them had suffered as many are never called upon to suffer. The Duchess, as is well known, never laid aside her widow's weeds, Lady Georgiana never put off her mourning for her son. Lady Lothian alone, with admirable regard for her family of daughters and a married son, set her own wishes aside, and resumed the dress befitting her rank and the society in which she moved, with the dignity of one equally indifferent to velvets and jewels or shabby crape and bombazine.

Each of these three women, according to her character, pursued with strenuous love her own upward way, manifestly responding to the touch of Divine grace as a good ship promptly answers the helm, while to the Duchess was accorded the rare privilege of bearing this witness to her family: "I can truly say that all my children put God in the first place, myself next, and themselves always last."

Among the few things wanting in Mrs. Craven's beautiful "Life" we feel a prominent lack of mention of Lady Georgiana's intercourse with the Duchess of Norfolk. To see them both narrating or recalling incidents of their former years, comparing notes, reviving impressions of eminent people and past scenes,

both of them radiant with the interchange of the sympathetic "answering mind," was a picture for ever to be engraved in the memory of the looker on. Such moments of permitted refreshment in their saddened lives recall the never-to-be-forgotten words of Alexandrine de la Ferronnays: "*Je pleure mon Albert gaïement.*"

But these moments were generally reserved for Arundel and Slindon. The house No. 27, Chapel Street (now Aldford Street), Park Lane, was the office and centre for all Lady Georgiana Fullerton's charitable works, and the constant resort of those associated in them with her. According to her unvarying plan of self-renouncement in all things, she gave up her cheerful and more adorned drawing-rooms to her husband and her visitors, and established herself, with her writing, papers, and business, on the ground-floor. Not a moment of her day was wasted, and from Mass and meditation in the morning till night the strict rule followed, and her unflagging industry, secured abundant time for the organization and direction of charitable works, which were for some time even personally undertaken. Lady Georgiana visited the poor who swarmed round the Catholic Church in Warwick Street, and in some instances at least was accustomed to sweep and tidy the room, light the fire, and dress the sick women. At the request of the veteran priest of St. Patrick's, Soho, Mr. Barge, a mothers' meeting was set on foot over a stable, where a number of the poorest Irish "mothers" gathered in great delight to speak and be spoken to for the first time in their lives by "a real lady." It was a sight never to be forgotten to witness the timid respect of these poor women brightening into happy confidence and ease—their manners, as Lady Georgiana herself said, being perfect—while her own radiant enjoyment, and that of the admirable second priest at St. Patrick's, Mr. Cuddon, were alike adornments of the gay, simple feast. Carefully setting the friend who accompanied her in the post of honour behind the huge tea-pots, Lady Georgiana moved here and there about the room, with a word of cheer and kindness, or gently drew one and another of the poorest and most desolate-looking women a little apart to inquire into her circumstances and needs. On the way home she expressed to her companion, in the warmest way, how much she had enjoyed the evening, which had made her "almost too happy!" That first seed of work in St. Patrick's parish grew and developed like the grain of mustard-seed. The little loft was soon abandoned for a large room in Greek Street, and afterwards for one still more spacious in Dudley Street, where the sights and sounds of the neighbourhood in the evening were an astounding contrast to the happy and orderly array of women and their babies and work within the room. Meanwhile, Lady Georgiana

was occupied with the work of bringing the Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul to England, a task of exceptional difficulty at that time, as certain guarantees had to be given and a considerable outlay made. In 1859, however, by the joint aid of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lady Fitzgerald, and Miss Stanley, sister of the Dean of Westminster, three Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul were brought over from Paris, and established in York Street, Westminster, where the historic *cornettes* were first seen in the London slums. The coming of these Sisters, and especially of their holy Superior, Sœur Chatelain, a woman of the most consummate courage, unfailing resource, and winning charm ever to be found united in one small, slender woman's person, was a continual delight to Lady Georgiana. She absolutely revelled in the pure joy of frequenting that little house in York Street, and the Sisters soon opened to her a fresh multitude of good works, and a wider range of acquaintance with the "Sick, the Sorrowful, and Sinners."

One good work, which at that time deeply interested her, and was placed under her presiding care, did not emanate from the Sisters of Charity, but from the fertile genius of her director, who was at that time the eminent Jesuit Father Gallwey, then rector at Farm Street. This was the "Immaculate Conception Charity," founded for the rescue and protection of Catholic orphans by an organization of a number of collectors of the same class in districts, each under a lady-almoner. In this work Lady Georgiana, Lady Lothian, and Miss Langdale gathered round them a number of devoted persons, notably, as treasurer, Mr. Francis New, now, since his widowhood, a priest, whose unwearied energy and unflinching attendance upon his one only day of relaxation and rest gave the association the most valuable support. Under the impulses of this great work and her increasing knowledge of the London poor Lady Georgiana wrote a charming little life of Elizabeth Twiddy, a poor cap-maker belonging to the Warwick Street congregation, who gathered a few little orphan girls into a home, and fed them by her daily labour. The claims of the Catholic orphans grew to such a scale that what would now be almost known as an "international" bazaar was organized by Lady Georgiana in their behalf, for which donations of articles from many countries and eminent foreign personages were obtained. The correspondence and other labours involved in getting up this gigantic fancy fair were enormous, and probably no one but those who personally helped in them could ever imagine the cost of time and pains. The bazaar finally held was upon the most sumptuous scale of such exhibitions, and realized a sum of several thousand pounds, which was divided among the parishes aggregated to the charity. Not very long afterwards, however, exception

was taken by some of the leading secular clergy of London to the direction of the Immaculate Conception Charity, and, to the lasting regret of Lady Georgiana, it was dissolved. All the circumstances of this event were a source of keen suffering to her on Father Gallwey's account, for she had yet much to learn of the science of that detachment and spiritual indifference in which her guide was so signal a teacher.

These lessons were soon pressed upon her afresh, and turned to the utmost account by the rapid succession of family losses. The deaths of Lady Rivers' second son, of her uncle the Duke of Devonshire, of both her sisters-in-law, Lady Margaret Leveson and Lady Granville, not only afflicted her with the grief of those she most loved, but made lasting blanks in her social life. These deaths, however, were less terrible to her than the irreparable losses of the Dowager Lady Granville, her mother, and of Lady Rivers, which last was broken to her by Father Gallwey.

The Franco-German war, in 1870, brought increased claims upon Lady Georgiana, who sustained and seconded Cecil, Lady Lothian, then president of the Catholic Ladies' Committee for the French refugees and sufferers, when the toil of both these friends was unremitting. In 1875 Lady Georgiana was called upon to make her final sacrifice of a country home by leaving Slindon Cottage, to which she had become really attached. Henceforward, when not in London or abroad, they spent their time much at Bournemouth, where Mr. Fullerton eventually settled in the house called Ayrfield, in which Lady Georgiana died.

Her ardent interest in the poor and afflicted had for some time not been fully satisfied with the work to which the Sisters of Charity are limited by rule, and took a fresh development in a foundation which may have been the most important of her life. Probably, also, it was the special fruit of a practice long impressed upon her, as she often repeated, by Father Gallwey: "*Pray that before you die you may be allowed to do some lasting good.*"

The work in question was no less than the foundation of a new religious order, the idea of which, under the somewhat unmanageable title of "The Poor Servants of the Mother of God Immaculate," was grafted upon the "Little Servants of Mary," in the Grand Duchy of Posen. The admirable plan of this Congregation is the reception of poor young women in community, earning their own livelihood, and, with this essential condition carried out, houses in various parts of England have been set on foot by Mother Magdalene (Miss Taylor), united, since Lady Georgiana's death, with a central house in Rome. This has been found possible, it is understood, through the munificence of Mr. Fullerton, who seems to live only to complete the work begun by his venerated wife.

Several winters were still passed together at Mentone and San Remo, with intervals in Paris, where the society of Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Craven and Madame de Salvo were the chief solace, as visits to various charitable institutions formed the daily occupation. At Mentone, aided by a saintly Mentonese lady, Mlle. Gabriel, Lady Georgiana instituted a work society of ladies, who met together to sew for the poor, while stimulating each other to a more spiritual life by reading aloud some good book or relating examples of holy persons. At San Remo, as Lady Georgiana was wont to narrate with a beaming countenance, stones were thrown at her by boys, who, on account of her dress, mistook her for a certain Protestant Bible-woman who was at that time distributing tracts against Catholic doctrine in the town.

In 1877 the last crowning sorrow of her life fell suddenly upon Lady Georgiana, in the speedy, unexpected death of Cecil, Lady Lothian, her beloved friend and most unfailing coadjutor in charitable works and interests. When the remains of this most dear friend had been brought from Rome, where she died, and rested for a day and night in Lady Herbert's private chapel on their way to Dalkeith, Lady Georgiana was found :

Prostrate before the coffin. . . . and giving full vent to her sorrow The tears were flowing in floods, and prayers, interrupted by sobs, broke from her lips (p. 451).

This was one of the only three occasions during her life when her usual complete silence and self-control were broken up, and the strongly repressed flood burst forth with violent and overwhelming force. Once this was seen at the death of her sister, Lady Rivers ; once, as just related, before Lady Lothian's coffin ; and once again when, with Mlle. Teulière, she visited her son's grave.

It was towards the end of 1881 that the final fatal, internal disease, that carried her off, first declared itself, or was fully recognized by Lady Georgiana. The few succeeding years were marked by intervals of acute suffering, borne with heroic cheerfulness and courage. A pilgrimage to Lourdes was planned, but the Fullertons halted at Tours, where the Cravens met them, and they visited the Sacred Heart Convent at Marmoutiers, in which Lady Lothian's daughter Cecil had died, and where Count de Montalembert's daughter was then Superior. Just as the start to Lourdes was about to be made, Mr. Fullerton was taken ill, and the journey was given up, which, though a great disappointment to Lady Georgiana, was accepted with her usual cheerfulness. They went back to Paris, and there she herself fell so ill that their stay was prolonged to several months, and upon the

way home they were obliged to halt at Boulogne. Here Lady Georgiana solaced herself by giving abundant alms to the poor, chiefly distributed by the Sisters of Charity, and during this, her farewell visit to France, she gladdened many a household with her abundant gifts, while the faces of multitudes of little children brightened at her presence among them. The Fullertons returned to England in January, and Mr. and Mrs. Craven passed the next Christmas (of 1883) at Ayrfield. The whole most touching and interesting account of this last visit is one of the best parts of Mrs. Craven's delightful book, but it is too long to give entire, and too beautiful to be mutilated by quotations. Lady Georgiana's last year was filled up almost entirely with the sufferings and intervals of feeble convalescence of a complete invalid. Still her courage, her calmness, and especially her cheerful silent acquiescence in her own condition, were unchanged. It was a mark of special benediction, and probably the answer to prayer, that Father Gallwey was ordered out of London at the time on account of his own failing health, and remained in the Jesuits' house at Bournemouth. To the very last Lady Georgiana wrote notes, and even letters, in pencil, to Mrs. Craven and to other friends, and on Christmas Day (1884) she carefully chose out and set aside some little memorial for the faithful servants who had loved and helped her so long. To the one of these not present, the valued "Lucy," who kept the house in Chapel Street, she wrote with her own hand, "Good-bye, dear, good Lucy, God bless you!"

On the 19th of January the end came. Her eyes were fixed tenderly on her crucifix, her husband, her brothers, and her faithful servants were by her side, along with the Father who, for so many years, had been the guide of her spiritual life. She passed away so quietly that all the careful attention of those who stood around her could not detect the exact moment at which her soul exchanged the miseries of this life for the endless possession of the Eternal Truth and Light, to whom she had been so faithfully and entirely devoted (p. 492).

Like many others who have passed through great sufferings with heroic patience, the face of the dead was seen to become young, peaceful, and, as Lady Victoria Kirwan said, her face brightened with a smile almost of surprise—the surprise of the first revealing to the faithful servant of the Face of God.

Enough, obviously, has been said, in both the French and English versions of this "Life," to give us a vivid outline of the noble character that has but lately, to our endless loss, passed from among us. Turning over their pages we live once more in that gracious presence, we note the peculiar radiance of the smile, the brightening of the eyes, the rich harmony of the low-pitched voice, so full of refinement and of power. We see her again, in

her poor mourning garb, bent and feeble, making her way with a stick down South Street to the long-frequented church, in which we shall presently find her kneeling, rapt in prayer.

Following her at a little distance, through Farm Street Mews, we wonder again, as we have many times wondered, whether the rude crowd of grooms gathered at their noisy work did not recognize in that poorly clad woman as she passed some higher angelic presence, that brought with it healing and a blessing. To us it ever truly verified the words, *Christianus alter Christus est*. May she plead for us in her Eternal Home!

EMILY BOWLES.

ART. VI.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY IN 1888.

“ONE of the greatest ornaments of England, and one most prized by the public, is the Museum of Painting, which is generally, and with justice, entitled the National Gallery. A national monument, if ever there was one, indeed, for it is the nation who has founded it, and who, notwithstanding almost insurmountable difficulties, has in half a century caused it to rise from the ground a superb work worthy of a great people.” Thus writes M. Reiset, Director of the Museum of Painting in the Louvre, in 1876; and if these words were, as they were, well deserved then, how much more so would they now be, when in the last twelve years pictures have been added to the collection, and when extensions of the building, then only in contemplation, have been carried to perfection.

A new grand staircase now leads to a hall with piers of Cipollino marble, from which four staircases, lined with giallo antico, branch off. That to the north leads up to a vestibule, divided from it by columns of Numidian *rouge Etrusque* marble, with alabaster capitals, the white-veined marble dressings of three of the doorways contrasting delightfully with the rich deep colouring of the columns. This noble hall forms a fitting entrance to the five new rooms, in which are enshrined the works of Leonardo, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, whose portrait busts are on the face of the screen at entrance. From the folding-door that gives admission to the great Tuscan Room we behold at the end of a long vista the Raphael Madonna Ansidei facing us, and to right and left, as we advance, we pass the noble works of Michael Angelo, and

Leonardo's "Virgin in the Grotto," perhaps the greatest painted poem that ever came from the heart and brain of man. Leaving the four rooms consecrated to Tuscan art, and passing through a fifth, in which the schools of Bologna and Ferrara may be studied, we enter the long gallery of the Umbrian school, whence we pass on from the works of Niccolo da Foligno and Piero della Francesca Signorelli, Perugino, the teacher of Raphael, and Sanzio, the father of Raphael, to those of the master himself, and of many of his school. Then passing into Room 7, we find ourselves among the solemn splendours of the Venetian school, with the branch schools of Brescia and Verona; and with the Room No. 9, in which are some gems of the school of Leonardo, and the great central domed Hall, we close our inspection of the Italian schools of mediæval painting. Next come the Flemish and Dutch, Spanish, French, and modern Italian paintings; and now, having made our circuit, we approach the entrance hall again, and find, as we stand in the centre landing, that the British schools are ranged to right and left, and can see what great improvement has been made of late years in this important part of our collection in a national as well as an artistic sense. Yet the whole of our native schools, whether English, Scotch, or Irish, will never be represented as they should be till water-colour, as well as oil-painting, finds a place in our National Gallery.

It is not necessary now to enlarge on the history of the National Gallery, and the marvellous rapidity with which it has risen from one of secondary importance to the first rank among the great national collections of Europe. The public have been sufficiently informed upon this point in the pages of our contemporary journals in England, as well as in those of France and Italy,* but we would add something to what has been but casually alluded to by the able writers who have lately dealt with the subject, and that is the classification of the pictures for the first time upon a scientific system, which is the really great event in the history of the collection during the late years of Sir Frederic Burton's term of office. We must ask our readers' patience, if we preface our subject with a few words on the application of method or system to art, since much ignorance still prevails with regard to any scientific system in this study, its aims and its means of investigation; and yet it is through this very ignorance that the labourer in this field has been too often baffled at every turn, even by those who hold enlightened views in other branches of human progress.

* See *Quarterly Review* for October 1886. *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvi. p. 48; M. Reiset, "Une Visite à la National Gallery en 1876." Paris: G. Frizzoni, Archivio Storico Italiano. Tom. iv. 1879; v. 1880. G. Morelli, "Italian Masters in German Galleries."

The museums of a great nation are at once the results of its intellectual history in the past and the bases of its future mental development. The advancement of learning is now sure to be accompanied by appreciation of the value of monuments of the past as utterances of the mind of man in its successive phases of progress, and these great collections of a nation are, in one sense, its libraries of reference, where the student will find authorities to support and guide his future work. Thus, if we begin with our archaeological collections, we find that in the United Kingdom we have now a vast mass of material which may aid the historian to trace and illustrate the origin and progress of man from his earliest and rudest state to his latest achievements. The establishment in our universities of special chairs for Archæology of late years, is a proof in itself that the subject has come within the pale of philosophy and learning, and we begin to acknowledge that the study of ancient monuments should in no way be treated as subordinate to the study of ancient literature. Archæology of necessity dovetails into art, whose roots are struck in the earliest ages of mankind, as its origin in another and a moral sense may be traced to all that is deepest in human nature. Therefore, in the light they cast on human history, our galleries of painting come next in order to our archaeological museums, and as our acquaintance with the history of painting advances, it will also be acknowledged that the study of mediæval painting should in no way be treated as subordinate to the study of mediæval literature. But that such high objects may be attainable, it is of primary importance that the arrangement of our museums be systematic. Whether the collection be of sculpture or of painting, the subject may be divided under two heads. First, the history of development in the art itself; second, the classification and arrangement indicated by the study of such a chain of examples as we possess.

The arrangement of the National Gallery of London has, of necessity, passed through many changes. Before the acquisition of the new rooms, and while the crowded galleries were encroaching one upon another, a chronological arrangement was impossible, while the division into schools was equally difficult. No attempt could be made in the rearrangement of the Gallery in 1876 to place the pictures in anything like a progressive classification, taking the earliest Siennese and Florentine painting after those of the Byzantine style, and leading up to the great classics of the art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All that could be done was to keep pictures of kindred styles together, so far as possible. As M. Reiset again observes (pp. 12, 13):

Tout classement chronologique était impossible avec la disposition des diverses salles et galeries, entremêlées les unes aux autres; M.

Burton, le directeur actuel de la *National Gallery*, a sagement fait de ne pas l'essayer. Il s'est contenté de réunir les œuvres des maîtres par groupes sympathiques, et il est impossible de ne pas rendre hommage au talent dont il a fait preuve en accomplissant cette tâche délicate.

The addition of five new rooms, opened in 1887, afforded, for the present, sufficient wall space for a more convenient and systematic distribution of the pictures; and the student of the history of development in painting will soon find how much has now been done in England to facilitate his work by the method that has been adopted.

In carrying out such a work, mere learning without method can only lead to what the Germans call "not being able to see the wood for the trees." The history of art cannot be studied as if its practice were something merely accidental, external, and wholly independent of the special character of the population among whom it is practised, and as if we could overlook those organic laws by which art develops itself. It is, therefore, of primary importance that the attributions of works of ancient art to their authors, real or supposed, should be conscientiously and accurately inquired into. In the identification of the authorship of any work, the first impulse is to be guided by the literature connected with the object and not by the object itself. The student is apt to forget that his eye has to be trained by study of the objects themselves if he hopes to acquire the power of judging as to the points of difference or agreement between two works. His power of observation must be quickened and made systematic, and the same methods adopted which the natural sciences have long since supplied. The style of a school or of an individual artist is dependent on, or is modified by, the quality of his material as well as by his national character, his own individuality, and his artistic capacity. There is style in schools, and there is also style in the individuals belonging to those schools. The first method should be a comparative study of the works of each school and the codification, if we may use the term, of the *identified* monuments representing each. Arguing from the known to the unknown, we have safe ground to go upon in approaching a conclusion as to date and authorship. But what care may be involved in the fine distinctions that must be observed if, as in sculpture, we have to distinguish between forms that are accidental and those that are essential, and study the style, the spiritual character, the handling, the texture of the skin, the muscles, the partiality of certain artists for certain forms, whether round or full, scanty or rigid, the drawing of the hair or the treatment of drapery. In dealing with the latter the individuality of an artist will often betray itself in a most marked

manner, as Mr. Waldstein remarks in his "Essays on the Art of Phcidias" (p. 33):

Folds may in reality fall in any conceivable manner, but still there are only certain definite kinds of folds that will please the eye of the spectator or suit the character of a particular work. Every original artist searches for a long while before he can find a method of indicating this pleasing fall of drapery, and gradually there is formed in him, more or less consciously, a method of attaining this result. This then becomes his style.

Such, then, are the studies which should fit a critic for his work of identification, while, in addition to this, the authorities who direct our national museums must feel their way through the thousand false attributions met with still in picture galleries at home and abroad, and the *provenance* of each doubtful example be ascertained and its origin searched out. Nevertheless, when all is said, the public must still remember that an amount of blind faith will always be due to specialists gifted with certain qualities and with a power that would seem to be intuitive.

As Mr. Waldstein again remarks (p. 354):

It will ever remain a most difficult task to convey to others, with anything like adequate convincing power, the actual weight of an inner conviction which has *grown* gradually in time, passing through many stages of individual confirmation, and confirmation, moreover, which often came from quarters where the facts seemed at first to run counter to it.

Such inner workings of the mind [he adds] cannot be imparted fully and at once to others. . . . It is like attempting to transfer to a third person the faith one has in a friend, which has arisen almost unconsciously with the first touch of sympathy, has grown with long acquaintance, and has become fixed and fastened by his actions under the most varying circumstances.

In the writings of the Senator Morelli, as well as those of Mr. Waldstein, we have many hints as to the details which may guide the critic in his investigations as to the authorship of paintings which have been wrongly attributed. Points may be observed which differentiate one ancient master from another, such as the sense of colour, its degree of brightness and transparency, or a certain loftiness of sentiment, or even the method in which certain members of the human body are treated. Peculiarities in the form of hand are often affected by one artist more than by another. With Titian, for instance, the base of the thumb is abnormally developed. Raphael, so long as he worked with Perugino, had a predilection for long and tapered fingers, but in his early youth, as we see in the "Knight's Vision," the hand is broad and flat. In the works of Timoteo Viti the resemblance in the shape of the hands and feet to those in Raphael's first manner is very strong.

Giovanni Bellini likes hands with large knuckles and a long thumb, while Mantegna prefers short fingers with a long fleshy palm. The muscles of the hand are strongly marked in the works of Cosimo Tura, while the hands of Costa and Fran Bianchi have long, tapered fingers and fleshy palms. So again, it has been noted that certain forms of ear are preferred to others, perhaps unconsciously, by certain painters. Thus, in the work of Leonardo, the ear is broad and well-proportioned, while in that of Palma the upper part overbalances the lower, and the lobe of the ear is extremely small. With Giovanni Bellini the ear is stumpy and fleshy, and with Mantegna and Lorenzo di Credi long, attenuated, and slender. If the individualities of painters are marked by such peculiarities, so the history of separate schools may be followed with the same minute observation. Each should be regarded separately and studied as a living whole, like an organism which, from its germ to its death, has its regular development, rising step by step as step by step it declines. This course will not be interrupted by accident, such as the temporary adoption of one or other foreign practice by its individual members.

But even when all this mass of technical information and of historical research is acquired, the *rôle* of the critic will be but imperfectly filled unless he possess another gift that is indeed in this case "the more excellent way," and one which almost seems to involve all others in its sphere—and that is Sympathy. "The Book of Life cannot be read by Science alone," and the Fathers of great Art who, in their painted poems, have been the Dantes and the Shakespeares of their day, demand of us that they may be judged by their peers, if not in painting or in sculpture, yet in knowledge of the human heart and reverence for the works of God.

The truthful attribution of such old paintings to their veritable authors and schools, and the classification dependent on this, is not the only work which tests the powers of the superintendents of such a great collection as that of the National Gallery. Attention to the condition of the pictures is a subject involving many branches of knowledge and experience. Many of the greatest works, when they became the property of the nation, were terribly damaged—the colour peeled off them, or the pictures were, in large portions, overpainted. Such is now the improved condition of knowledge that the result of wise treatment in these cases has been absolutely successful. In reference to one crucial instance M. Reiset observes (pp. 94, 96):—"Victoire due à la main habile et discrète qui fut chargée du travail . . . tout l'honneur de la découverte revient aux hommes qui ont si heureusement tenté et accompli ce précieux sauvetage!"

The public does not require to be reminded of Sir Frederic

Burton's power as an artist. It has been well described by a writer in the "Portfolio," vol. v., p. 60: "In the quality of refinement, both intellectual and executive, his artistic work is of extraordinary excellence, and it is especially noble and satisfying because we feel the delicacy and culture of the intellect that lies half concealed behind the beautiful veil of colour. In fulness of knowledge, and calm equality of imaginative thought, such painting or design as this resembles the poetry of a cultivated age, which passion animates like the warmth of a delicate wine, but never wholly possesses or exasperates." As a writer on Art he is less widely known, yet the readers of the "Portfolio" will remember the power and beauty of his papers in that journal in the years 1873 and 1874, where he dealt with the two great treasures purchased for the British Museum from the Castellani Collection, the Sarcophagus from Cære, and the Bronze Head of Aphrodite, and the Triumph of Scipio by Mantegna. We have already spoken of Sympathy as an element indispensable to the great Art critic, and we know no clearer instance of its existence than in the following passage from Sir Frederic's paper on Mantegna:—

The grand and pervading character powerfully stamped upon all the work of Mantegna is of an ethical kind, and may, perhaps, best be expressed by the abstract term *intensity*. It is not that other great masters of the quattrocento and the period immediately preceding it are wanting in devotion of purpose; for, from the time of Duccio and Giotto, throughout the whole evolution of the Renaissance in art, this quality is strongly manifested by all the leaders in that remarkable movement. But it is very doubtful whether, after Giotto, any one of them exhibited this concentration of profound individuality, undisturbed by contemporary influences, in the same degree as the great Paduan, until the coming of Michael Angelo, with whom his inward nature had much that was of kin. Nor is it here meant to imply that the origin and roots of Mantegna's manner are untraceable, though in a merely outward sense. It is easy to see, for instance, what he owed to Donatello, on the one hand, and to the Bellini, father and sons, on the other, to say nothing of his early schooling in the studio of Squarcione. As much may be said of any man who, nevertheless, justly ranks as an originator. It is the *ethos* of Mantegna that, above all external signs and accidental peculiarities, is apparent in every work that proceeded from his hands; it is this which interests us irresistibly in the man himself. Nor is our interest diminished by the fact that no thought of pleasing *us* seems to have guided his creative pencil. On the contrary, his proud, absorbed, and self-sufficing spirit appears as if alike unconscious and undesirous of witnesses. As in the scenes of the Passion, and those which follow it, his deep tones of melancholy are given out for the disburthening of his own overlaid sense of supernatural agony and human suffering, so, in themes from profane history, his notes of solemn exultation record for

himself alone his sympathy with humanity in its heroic moments. This is not saying too much for Mantegna; and it is his due to acknowledge these greater traits of his character, as we should look in vain in his works either for those passages of native tenderness to be found in the Holy Families and Madonnas with the Infant of the masters of the Christian cycle; or for that play of fancy and those lighter graces of style which show themselves abundantly among his equals. His works, it is true, are often in a high degree decorative; but it is hardly too much to affirm that this quality is with him more *essential* than with others. His ornament, his elaborate detail, his sometimes perhaps irrelevant accessories, will be found, when properly viewed, to proceed from the true imagination itself, and to have no originating cause but the desire to intensify the impression of the theme which he was travailing to bring before his outward vision in all its reality. There are, doubtless, many to whom even this qualified praise will seem excessive; who are repelled from the first by the dryness of Mantegna's manner, and who, even could they pass through this to them thorny hedge, would still find in his generally austere mode of conception no sympathetic bond. They might credit him with intensity, but would not acquit him of the narrowness which often accompanies it. But it is in art, as in our personal relations with men, that our idiosyncrasy will often decide early and for ever our likings and dislikings—feelings which in such cases will not be effaced by nearer acquaintance, however they may be modified by judgment or toleration. Yet surely Mantegna's opponents themselves will not ignore the frequent beauty of his masculine forms, nor, in presence of the ideal grace of his Venus and the Dancing Muses, and the sweet benignity of the Madonna of Victory, deny to him a refined perception of loveliness.

The picture by this great master, which has recently been added to the National Collection, although it must take rank amongst his minor works, in no way belies his reputation. It has, too, a history connecting it with his own. It was undertaken towards the close of his long and laborious career; and when that career terminated in the sadness and gloom which have but too often awaited those whose imaginative powers had placed them above their fellow-men, it remained in his studio, probably not fully finished. It may have been the last, it was certainly one of the last, pictures which his pencil touched.

The picture described in this paper was acquired by Sir William Boxall during the last year of his tenancy of office. In 1874 he was succeeded by Frederic Burton in the Directorship of this great Museum. It would have been difficult to find one more fitted to the task, since, in addition to intellectual culture, he was gifted with an artist's genius, and, as his early works testify, he was from the beginning a loving student of nature, whose paintings showed a dramatic power of conception and treatment which led to very high results. The writer is an old man now, but he can still recall the old days in Ireland when the works of the young

water-colour painter were first exhibited on the walls of the Hibernian Academy, between the years 1840 and 1850. Member of the old family of Burton, whose ancestors settled in Clare early in the reign of James I., and where his family still hold their estates, the early works of the young painter show how fully his genius was imbued with the native character and poetry of the scenery and peasant-life of those wild western shores. The youthful friend of Samuel Ferguson, the poet of Irish life and legend, we find in the works of both these men a sympathy with and idyllic treatment of country life that calls to mind the sentiment in Goethe's "*Hermann and Dorothea*." The very names of this painter's studies from nature which still linger in our memory are delightful to dwell upon, transporting us to Atlantic coasts and mountain glens, from which we have long been exiled: "*The Hollow of the Yellow Nuts*," "*Alley Joyce*," "*The Stream in the Sand from Smerwick Harbour to Brandon Head*," the "*Mountain-tops*," the "*Weathered Lime-stone*," the "*Ruined Chancel of Cong Abbey*," all soft, rich, and harmonious in colour, yet wild and racy of the soil. These were but studies, however. "*The Connaught Toilet*," "*The Blind Girl at the Holy Well*," "*The Arran Fisherman's Drowned Child*," were works of broader and higher aim. The first has been well described by a contemporary writer:—

A number of Connemara girls on their way to market have been tempted to halt by the side of a delightful mountain stream to arrange their attire; and, while thus engaged, a youth on the bridge at a distance is waving his hand to the party as if to intimate that they will be late. The several attitudes of the girls are most natural, as if the artist had just caught the group by accident as he passed. One little episode is delightfully given where a youth, ripe for mischief, has let the ducks out of the basket belonging to one of the party, and, while an attempt is being made to catch them as they are about to flutter across the stream, the delinquent is caught by his locks by a young rustic beauty, who enjoys the affair too much in a quiet way to inflict any serious injury upon the scapegrace. The unconcern of the peasant knitting is in good contrast with this.

Bright and joyous as such works were, a deeper note of pathos and tragedy is sounded in the two other paintings we have named. The blind girl who has been led by mother and sister over the wild, mist-clad mountains to the well whose sacred waters they fondly pray may restore her sight. Lovely as is the pure girl's patient face, yet the passion of sympathy and love with which the mother looks round to watch the effect of her prayers gives the key-note to this touching subject, the revelation of a mother's love. In "*The Arran Fisherman's Drowned Child*" we are shown the interior of a Galway fisherman's cottage, filled by the crowd of peasants who have hurried in on hearing the calamity

that has fallen on the house. The dead child lies across the mother's lap, who, bending over it with passionate gesture, pushes back the hair from its pallid brow as she searches its face for some sign of life, every nerve of her body strained, her bare feet seeming to grasp the clay floor of her cabin, in the tension of her agonized frame. A woman stands above them, her arms thrown up on high, her grand face upturned to heaven as if *she* were giving vent to the cry as yet stifled in the mother's heart. In the background, a sailor is describing to the excited and impassioned crowd, both by words and action, how the misfortune happened, while, still as a great statue, stands the unhappy father, looking out from the picture, too deeply moved for sound or movement, yet with that in his face that tells of the wrench his heart endures. Such work as this makes us feel the force of George Eliot's words when she observes :—

The greatest benefit we owe to the artist—whether painter, poet, or novelist—is the extension of our sympathies. When Scott takes us into Luckie Mucklebacket's cottage, or tells the story of "The Two Drovers;" when Wordsworth sings to us the reverie of "Poor Susan;" when Kingsley shows us Alton Locke gazing yearningly over the gate which leads from the highway into the first wood he ever saw; when Hornung paints a group of chimney-sweepers, more is done towards linking the higher classes with the lower, towards obliterating the vulgarity of exclusiveness, than by hundreds of sermons and philosophical dissertations. Art is the nearest thing to life; it is a mode of amplifying experience and extending our contact with our fellow-men beyond the bounds of our personal lot. All the more sacred is the task of the artist when he undertakes to paint the life of the people.

Besides these native subjects, this painter has given us others which show a dramatic power of no small order. "Scene from Byron's Tragedy of the Two Foscari," where Marina defends the body of her dead husband from the approach of Loredano and Barbarigo; "Helen Faucit as the Greek Muse;" "The Flight and Death of Jehoram;" "A Procession in Bamberg Cathedral;" "Faust's First Sight of Marguerite;" "The Widow of Wöhlen Iostephane;" "The Meeting on the Turret Stair," so beautifully described in one of George Eliot's letters that we may be forgiven for one more extract from her writings :—

The subject is from a Norse legend; but that is no matter—the picture tells its story. A knight in mailed armour and surcoat has met the fair, tall woman he (secretly) loves, on a turret stair. By an uncontrollable movement he has seized her arm and is kissing it. She, amazed, has dropped the flowers she held in her other hand. The subject might have been made the most vulgar thing in the world—the artist has raised it to the highest pitch of refined emotion. The kiss

is on the fur-lined *sleeve* that covers the arm, and the face of the knight is the face of a man to whom the kiss is a sacrament.

The writer, it has always seemed to us, mistakes the woman here. Not amazement—but resignation—may be read in that bowed form and patient head. "She loved him with a love that was her doom."

But we must not linger any longer on this portion of our subject; it is sufficient to say that, with these proofs of the art-power of Sir Frederic Burton still living in the memory, we need not wonder at his success in a labour that required knowledge as painter and critic, as well as knowledge of the history of art till the subject almost touches archaeology. And here again his early training in Ireland was the best possible preparation for this division of the work belonging to the Directorship of the National Gallery. The intimate friend of George Petrie, Bishop Graves, Dr. Todd, Lord Dunraven, Samuel Ferguson, Sir Thos. Larcom, and many others who formed a distinguished body of archaeologists in Dublin between the years 1840 and 1850, he was associated with them on the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, and an active member of the Committee of Antiquities. He was also associated with the learned men above mentioned in the foundation of the Archaeological Society of Ireland. To the world it may seem a new idea that habits of archaeological research are required in those who have control of our picture galleries, but the public is still ignorant of the light that may be thrown on the history of the works of mediæval art by the study of ancient illuminated books, of miniatures, of medals, of the history of costume. Without knowledge gathered from such sources, the history of the revival of painting from the dead art of Margheritone, as we see it illustrated now in the National Gallery, could never be carried on. Within the last fourteen years that portion of the Gallery which is devoted to the Italian schools has been in a great measure completed, owing to the large additions made from the very earliest masters down to the sixteenth century. Writing in 1879, the Italian critic, G. Frizzoni, complains that so few of the most famous early painters are represented; that the study of primitive art is at a disadvantage in London. Since then ten works of the deepest interest have been added to illustrate the early school of Siena, so that we may now study the works of the precursors and contemporaries of Dante, Duccio, and Ugolino, circa 1250-1282; Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Nicolo Buoncorso, circa 1348; Benvenuto and Matteo di Giovanni, circa 1435; and, looking at the pure faces of Lorenzetti's "Nun," or Matteo's "Virgin of the Girdle," we can see that the loftiest ideal of woman was shared by painter as by poet in the days of

the great singer of the Divine Comedy. The fine fragments of Spinello Aretino's work from the fresco of St. Michael and the "Rebel Angels," presented by Sir Henry Layard, is a grand introduction to the first gallery containing the works of the Tuscan school, to which nineteen examples have been added. Before the year 1874, Luca Signorelli, the great painter of Orvieto, was wholly unrepresented in the Gallery; we have now three fine examples of this master—Nos. 910, 1128, 1133—"The Triumph of Chastity," or, rather, "The Suffering of Love," a poetic work conceived by the artist in his seventieth year, "The Nativity," and the "Circumcision."

Botticelli was only represented by three examples, the authenticity of which has been called in question by the eminent Italian critic, Signor Morelli, till, at the sale of the Barker collection, and subsequently at those of Mr. Fuller Maitland and of the Duke of Hamilton, four more examples of this painter were added, two of which, Nos. 1034 and 1136, are of such interest that, if space permits, we hope to speak with more detail of them. To the three precious examples we already possessed by Filippino Lippi, three more have been added, Nos. 927, 1033, 1124. The Florentine painters, Andrea del Castagno and Ghirlandajo, were not represented till the purchase was made in 1883 of the fine "Crucifixion" by the former master, and No. 1143 by the latter, of which work Senator Morelli writes: "Nowhere can we get to know Ridolfo's early period better than in this picture, which represents the 'Walk to Calvary,' and was painted for the Antinori house in 1505."

Passing on to the schools of Ferrara and Bologna we find that nine additions have lately been made to the treasures we already possessed from them. First in importance is the grand example of Ercole di Giulio Grandi, No. 1119, who before was but imperfectly represented, and Ercole Roberti, an interesting painter, whose authenticated works are very rare. To the Umbrian School ten priceless pictures have been added. "Few public museums," writes M. Reiset, "can boast of possessing authentic works of Piero della Francesca," yet the National Gallery possesses one that cannot easily be overlooked; it is a Nativity, acquired at the Barker sale. This rare and exquisite painter is also represented by a "Baptism of Christ." Space does not permit us to enlarge on the other lately acquired works of this school by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Giannicolo di Paolo Manni, Niccolò Alunno, Pinturicchio, and Perugino and L'Ingegno, to say nothing of that supremely perfect work of Raphael, the *Ansidei Madonna*. Passing on to Venice and her school, and entering the smaller room, where the early Venetian and Paduan pictures hang, we find that, since the addition of two paintings by Crivelli, acquired

last year, this painter is now more fully represented in the National Gallery than in any other museum in Europe. In addition to the paintings we hitherto possessed of the schools of Venice, Padua, Brescia, and Verona, no less than thirty-five examples have been purchased, and among these are works of five artists hitherto unrepresented in our Gallery—Savoldo, G. B. Tiepolo, Bonifazio, and Cariani and Liberale da Verona. "Three portraits by Moroni, Nos. 1022, 1023, 1024, are," says Morelli, "among the finest works of this painter;" also two from the hand of Lorenzo Lotto, whose portraits, says the same authority, will bear comparison with those by the best of his contemporaries. Great as all these Venetian paintings are, we know of none that possess a more absorbing interest than the little pictures, lately purchased, by Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini—"The Crucifixion," No. 1166, and "The Blood of the Redeemer," No. 1233.

Of the Lombard School, Frizzoni complains that the examples, though worthy, are few; but, since the date at which he wrote, nine additions have been made to the examples of this school, five of which are by painters hitherto unrepresented. Among others, Frizzoni especially points out Sodoma and Marco D'Oggione as missing from our list. We have now by the latter a Madonna and Child: she supports the infant on her lap as he stretches out his hand towards a bluebell she holds before him; and by Sodoma, or Bazzi, as he is now called, we have an exquisite painting of a somewhat similar subject, where the infant, however, tenderly raises his hands in benediction of a monk led by St. Peter to his feet.

To the German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools, arranged in Rooms 10, 11, and 12, most important additions have been made. Six painters, hitherto unrepresented in our Gallery, may now be studied there: Frank and Dirk Hals from Haarlem, Catherine von Hemessen from Antwerp, Hendrick Steenwyck, Willem van der Bliet from Delft, Abraham de Papa from Leyden, while the magnificent work of Vandyck, the equestrian portrait of Charles I., is of priceless value and the highest historical interest. Nowhere have we seen a portrait of this monarch, in which the whole history of his mind and heart can be more clearly read than in this face, and it surpasses most of Vandyck's paintings in the almost Venetian warmth and harmony of its colour, and the splendidly luminous sky that overhangs a landscape which is indeed typical of the rich and happy country over which a sovereign might be proud to reign.

To the Spanish School a great Velasquez, No. 1129, has been added; to the French, in Room 19, a fine landscape of Gaspar Poussin, No. 1159; and a St. Jerome by a Greek painter, hitherto

unrepresented—Domenico Theotocopuli, who mostly painted in Venice and in Spain—ought not to be passed over.

It is a matter of no small gratification, as we pass on through the Rooms 19 to 22, to see that our native schools—English, Scotch, and Irish—may now in some degree be studied in the National Gallery. The late additions to the English school include many names hitherto unrepresented—Morland, Blake, Cotman, and Stark of Norwich; G. Arnald, Hudson, Abbott, Zoffany, Rossetti, and Frederic Walker; important additions have already been made to our examples of the works of others, such as Hogarth, Gainsborough, old Crome, Romney, Muller, Wilson, Constable, James Ward, Stothart, Copley, Opie, and five landscapes by the Scotch painter, Patrick Nasmyth; while two good examples have been added to those we already possessed by the Irish painter, William Mulready—a snow scene and a sea-shore scene.

In conclusion, we would impress upon our readers that such a museum as this may become a powerful factor in the future development of the three nationalities, now bound in one, to whom it belongs; but that it may do so we must guard that its direction be as skilfully fulfilled as heretofore under the guidance of such officers as Sir Charles Eastlake, Sir William Boxall, and Sir Frederic Burton, and also that there be no falling off in the courage which, up to the year 1883, was displayed in the expenditure necessarily involved in its preservation and growth. As it stands even now, when it has only reached the sixty-fourth year of its existence, what may we not learn of the history of our country, of its poetry and native life, if we read with thoughtful sympathy the stories ranged upon its walls? And more. What revelation of religious emotion too deep for words is given to us by the works of the great fathers of mediæval painting that we already possess! In the art of mediæval Christendom we find an unwritten theology, a popular figurative teaching of the sublime truths of Christianity, blended with the traditions of many generations. The Bible story, the Christian drama, was given on the walls and windows, on the altar *pala*, and the altar-steps of the humblest and the loftiest cathedral. And if in the hundred examples of religious art that we here possess we compare the treatment that these subjects met with in the hands of their different authors, we may find a boundless field for thought. Thus we have here one hundred subjects from the life of Christ which, if contemplated in sequence, would give us a series of typical scenes from the Annunciation and Childhood of our Lord through His Ministry and Passion and Death to His Ascension.

Of the Annunciation there are four different versions; five of the Nativity of Christ; two of the Baptism; two of the Circumci-

sion ; sixty-nine of the Virgin and Child ; nine of the Adoration of Magi, Kings or Shepherds ; ten of the Holy Family ; two of the Murder of the Innocents ; one of the Repose in Egypt ; two of Christ with the Doctors in the Temple ; Christ blessing Children ; one of Christ driving out the Money-changers ; one of Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery ; two of the Raising of Lazarus ; one of the Draught of Fishes ; one of the Good Samaritan.

The Passion Series commencing with the "Washing of the Feet" and two paintings of the "Last Supper" with the scene in Gethsemane, of which we have five different renderings—one of "The Betrayal," four of "The Ecce Homo," two of "Christ bearing His Cross," three of "The Procession to Calvary," six of "The Crucifixion," four of "The Deposition," two of "The Pietà," "The Entombment," two of the "Noli me Tangere," two of "Incredulity of Thomas," two of "The Walk to Emmaus," one of "The Ascension."

This series may be followed up by the ideal forms of the apostles and saints, as represented singly or in groups, or in the wings of triptychs, where they stand like statues in a niche. Thus we see the Archangel Michael, Raphael, St. John Baptist, St. Joseph, the Apostles, the Magdalene, St. Catherine of Alexandria and her namesake of Siena ; Saints Lawrence, Sebastian, George, Francis of Assisi, Bernardino, William, Jerome, Augustine, Monica, Nicholas, Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, Barbara ; while from the Old Testament we have, besides the typical scene of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness, the Calling of Abraham, the Destruction of Sodom, the Deluge, Joseph in Egypt, Samson and Delilah, the Tenth Plague, the Fall of Manna, Samuel and Rizpah. These subjects are so treated by the inspired hands of the old painters, that we cannot fail to learn something from them of the significance and human interest that underlies them all. And though it be true that scenes from the same Christian drama may be found in every town and on the walls of every church or cathedral abroad, yet their highest expression must often be looked for among the smaller pictures painted in the studios of the ancient masters, who were themselves inspired with all the religious passion of St. Francis of Assisi, or of Savonarola, and warmed by the poetic fire of Dante. Surely their treatment of the mysteries of the birth and death and passion of our Lord cannot be without its lessons for those who in our own day would show forth these mysteries though verbally and in another language. That we may see these things more plainly, let us pause by Sandro Botticelli's great picture of "The Nativity of Christ," No. 1034, before parting from a subject that has, perhaps, already

held us too long for our readers' patience. Along the top of this picture the artist has written an inscription in Greek, which would seem to signify that, when overwhelmed by his country's woes, this vision of the advent of Christ upon earth burst upon his heart and brain. It came to him at the close of the year 1500, and the reader will remember how mournful was the history of Italy about this time—from 1464 to 1521—how her rulers schemed, intrigued, struck alliances and broke them, made war and made peace, conspired, betrayed, confounded in worst disorder things temporal and spiritual, to the infinite dishonour and degradation of both, invoking the most awful thunders of heaven to do the most unworthy work on earth. Just at this dark crisis in his country's fate, the painter writes upon his work:—

This picture, I, Alessandro, painted at the end of the year 1500, in the troubles of Italy, in the half-time after the time during the fulfilment of the eleventh of St. John, in the second woe of the Apocalypse, in the loosing of the devil for three years and a half, afterwards he shall be chained and we shall see him trodden down as in this picture.

Here the painter alludes to the prophecy of the two witnesses in chapter xi. of the Book of Revelation, verses 6 to 8 and 11, as it was fulfilled in his own day and his own country:—

These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom, where also our Lord was crucified. . . . And after three days and a half the Spirit of life from God entered into them and they stood upon their feet.

The painter believes these mysterious words to show forth the struggle of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, and the victory accomplished in the coming of Christ upon earth—"Christ is born." He applies the prophet's words to the troubles of his country in the year 1500. "He," the painter, seems to say, "is the giver of that Spirit of life from God, before whose presence the kingdom of darkness must flee." The devils, who are its army, are seen in the lower part of the picture writhing in their wounds, and watching with savage eyes the heavenly messengers who bring the glad tidings, or flying to hide themselves among the rocks. Angels float round in a circling dance in the depths of the sky above; angels fill the scene below with the

music of their hymns or meet in glad embraces, while others lead the shepherds and the kings to kneel before the Being whose advent is to work this wondrous change. And here it is that the imagination of the poet-painter has done its perfect work. In a secluded dell, fenced round by giant rocks, we find a grove of pines, beneath whose solemn shade there stands a humble cot; the mother, absorbed in love that in its passion is akin to pain, worships the infant laid upon a pillow at her knee; while beyond the dark, pillared alleys of the wood the crimson light on the horizon proclaims the dawn.

Thus did the painter give utterance to his country's hope in its darkest hour of shame and sorrow, and herein lies the secret of the unexampled power of the ancient masters. The mysteries of Christ were not *only* mysteries to them, they pierced to the moral significance of the facts of His life as symbols and figures of mental and moral conditions in human experience in every nation and throughout all time, and they sought in nature, the very nature that surrounded their own homes, for the forms in which to clothe their visions and the backgrounds for their sacred subjects. They showed the Virgin mother in the places where they themselves had learned to worship. They showed the Crucifixion in the very scenes where they had learned the meaning of the Cross, and every leaf and every bar of purple cloud they drew was fraught with deeper poetry, since thus associated with the Spirit that had passed into their lives.

With reference to the acquisition of this picture, the great Italian art critic, Gustave Frizzoni, writes:—

Ma dove l'attuale Direzione della Galleria seppe fare un colpo straordinariamente fortunato si fe nell'acquisto di una tela del medesimo, che apparteneva ultimamente al Sig. Fuller Maitland, e rappresenta la Natività di Nostro Signore. Ora essa è, ed a ragione, uno degli oggetti che più attirano l'attenzione degli intelligenti, essendovi manifesto tutto lo spirito ed il brio che qualificano in modo speciale le opere del Botticelli.

This is but one of many instances of the tributes paid by Italian writers to the success of the present Director, in adding to the treasures of the National Gallery, and with such testimony to his skill as that offered by M. Reiset, Gustave Frizzoni, and the eminent art critic Senator Morelli, it is the more to be lamented that during his term of office the grant of £10,000 yearly has been suspended since 1885; the Treasury, by a most mistaken policy, thus tying the hands of one whose power of wisely adding to the treasures of the nation by his use of this income will not easily be matched when he is gone. In vain has he, with the trustees of the Gallery, protested against this act as highly injurious to the

interests of the Gallery, interrupting, as it must do, the continuity of acquisitions, which can only be made from time to time as possible opportunities occur, and to defer which means to abandon them altogether, and thus seriously check the growth of the collection and materially diminish its prospective value, and the writer in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1886 (at page 400), remarks :—

By depriving the Director of the annual grant, occasions are lost of obtaining pictures of great importance as filling up gaps in the collection, and examples of rare masters not represented in it, which may never occur again. This is especially the case at the present time, when many celebrated collections are coming into the market, and when we have so many rivals in the field. When such pictures pass into foreign museums they are lost to us for ever.

It was but the other day when, in the collection of the Marquis of Exeter, there was sold to the Gallery of Berlin an exquisite gem by Van Eyck, the father of oil-painting, every scrap from whose hand is worth many times its weight in gold to the country that possesses it. The German Government, wiser than our own, has bought it for the very moderate price of 2500 guineas, while our nation is the poorer by its loss. Our native schools are still but imperfectly represented in our Gallery, notwithstanding all the Director has done towards repairing the shameful neglect of our own national art.

The popular feeling in this movement [says Mr. James Linton, in a letter to the Editor of the *Times* of June 24] has already been markedly expressed by a public petition, which has been signed by thousands of agitators, and which in due time will come before Parliament. The petitioners feel that for the benefit, not only of lovers of art, but for the instruction of our artists, a choice selected collection of the works of British painters should form an important feature in our National Gallery. And why should we not also have a representative collection of the best specimens of our masters in water-colours ?

Foreigners would then be able to judge whether there is a British and Irish school or not, and probably free us from the reproach so constantly used against us. Then and not till then will our National Gallery be national in all its departments as well as in the truest meaning of the word.

ART. VII.—“THE QUARTERLY REVIEW” AND THE CULTURE OF OUR CLERGY.

A WRITER in the January number of the *Quarterly Review*, in a particularly acrimonious paper upon the Catholics of England, amongst other charges has accused both the laity and clergy of want of culture, and has ventured so far as to assail the education given to our priests. “But,” he writes, “Cardinal Newman might have added another class to his list of those whom Roman Catholics fail to educate adequately, and that is their own clergy. One result of the virtual abandonment of the universities as places of education for the clergy . . . has been a wholesale lowering and narrowing of clerical education.”

By this charge some questions of supreme importance are raised. In the first place, we must inquire whether our clergy are lacking in culture; in the second, whether the universities are more likely, as they are at present constituted, to produce culture than the English Catholic colleges; and, lastly, whether the universities or the colleges are the better fitted for the education of a priest.

Before commencing our investigation it will be necessary to define “culture.” Culture, according to Webster, is “the application of labour or of other means to improve good qualities,” and Johnson, as an example of his definitions, quotes the following passage from the *Tatler* (No. 75): “One might wear any passion out of a family by culture, as skilful gardeners blot a colour out of a tulip that hurts its beauty.”

Culture, then, is the method of training which is best calculated to bring a man to the highest state of mental and moral perfection. It is the development, amelioration, and refinement of the whole man, mental and moral. The dependence of the mental on the moral is a conviction at least as old as Aristotle, who describes the σώφρων, the temperate man, the man of habitual self-mastery, as being so named because σωφροσύνη σώζει την φρόνησιν—his self-control or morality preserves his mental power.

Taking this definition of culture as a basis, let us compare the ancient universities with our Catholic colleges and seminaries in England. The curriculum of each must be examined in order to see whether on comparison the priests educated at the Catholic institutions fail in actual learning to be at any rate the equals of the alumni of Oxford and Cambridge. Further, we must compare the life and discipline at the one class of seminaries with the life and discipline at the other, in order to discover

which class is the more likely to produce culture, and in so doing to fittingly prepare students for the holy office of the Priesthood.

A man goes up to Oxford with an amount of classical and mathematical education, varying in degree according to the individual himself and the school—public or private—from which he comes. His first examination—called by the authorities "Responsions," but colloquially known as "Smalls"—covers the two first books of Euclid, *or* Algebra, up to simple equations, arithmetic, elementary Greek and Latin grammar, Latin prose composition (rudimentary), and an easy Greek and Latin author, usually four books of Xenophon's "Anabasis" and four books of Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico." The first public examination, or Moderations, consists of Holy Scripture (unless there is a conscientious objection, in which case the "Phædo" of Plato must be substituted), and, unless the student seeks honours, one Greek author and two Latin authors, or two Greek authors and one Latin—in either case one of the books offered must be some portion of an historical or philosophical work; either elementary logic or the elements of geometry and algebra; translations from books not specially offered, and translations from English into Latin. In the subjects required under the title of Holy Scripture, instead of the four Gospels in Greek, as in former years, one of the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of S. John in Greek must be offered, together with either the subject matter of the Acts of the Apostles or of two books of Samuel studied in the text of the last Protestant revision. As regards classics, the student is allowed to take his choice of authors from a list sanctioned by the university, and as an example of the class of work required, may be cited the V. and VI. books of Herodotus, Cicero "Pro Roscio" and "Pro Milone," Terence, the "Andria," "Phormio," and "Heautontimoroumenos," which are frequently offered.

In order to obtain the coveted "Testamur" in this and other examinations, many men employ a "coach" and a "reader." The "coach" "crams" them in logic, and marks in their classical text-books for translation the passages most likely to be set in the examination, and at his lecture explains the difficulties. The "reader" reads aloud a translation of the Gospels and classical books, while the student follows the original text and marks in his books the passages he cannot understand, and has the translation of them repeated until the difficulty has disappeared.

In our time, the student, having passed Moderations, had next to encounter the Divinity school, but this as a compulsory examination has now been abolished. It consisted of the subject matter of the historical books of the Old Testament, of the four

Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek, and either the Articles of the Church of England, or, if there was a conscientious objection, the Epistle to the Galatians in the original. This school, and the religious knowledge required for Moderations, were not, in our day, at least, approached in at all a devotional spirit. Divinity "coaches" were as easily to be found as classical, mathematical, and science tutors, and, in order to impress the necessary facts upon the minds of their pupils, they did not scruple to throw ridicule upon many an incident related in Holy Scripture. The system of *memoria technica* was the order of the day, and the amount of blasphemy indulged in by a lay "crammer" (employed at three-and-sixpence and a potation a lesson) may easily be imagined from the sort of *memoria technica* in general use, of which one, and perhaps the least objectionable, will be sufficient as an example:—

"Nic, Nat, Nob went to wine with Lazarus, played two pools at Bethesda, and committed adultery with the woman of Samaria."

The interpretation of this elegant extract is that the stories of *Nicodemus*, of *Nathaniel*, of the *Nobleman's* son, of the water being turned into *wine*, of *Lazarus* and of the *Pools of Siloam* and *Bethesda*, of the woman taken in *adultery* and of the woman of *Samaria* are contained in the Gospel of St. John. Such was the spirit in which the only religious training offered by the university was approached—the only Divinity training which a Pass man was in our day (1875–1879) obliged by the university to undergo before taking Anglican "orders." Even less than this is now compulsory—for, as we have seen, all a candidate must pass is the religious knowledge portion of Moderations—two Greek Gospels, the subject matter of the Acts, or of two books of Samuel! It is true that there are university sermons—but no one is obliged to hear them—and that the Protestant bishops, or some of them, require that candidates for ordination shall have attended certain of the Professors' Divinity lectures; but, as a certificate of *attendance* only is required, the attendance is purely formal, and men may listen or read novels as they choose, and the latter alternative used, formerly at any rate, to be the more popular of the two. Under these circumstances it can hardly be seriously argued that either the sermons or lectures supply a training in Divinity.

The undergraduate has now to decide whether he will read for "Honours" or "Pass" in the final schools. The Honour schools are *Literæ Humaniores*, Mathematics, Natural Science, Jurisprudence, Modern History, Theology, and Oriental Studies. For the Pass degree there are five groups of subjects: Classical, Modern, Mathematical, Scientific, and Religious.

- A. (1) Two books, either both Greek or one Greek and one Latin, of which one must be a Greek philosophical work, say, portions of either Plato's "Republic," Aristotle's "Ethics" or "Politics," and one Greek or Latin historian, which must be a portion of either Thucydides, Herodotus, Livy, or Tacitus.
- (2) Greek and Roman history.
- B. (1) History, either English, European, or Indian, together, in each case, with English composition.
- (2) French or German, including a portion of the literature, and composition.
- (3) The elements of political economy.
- (4) A branch of legal study—such as the English Law of Contracts or the Institutes of Justinian.
- C. (1) The elements of geometry, including geometrical trigonometry.
- (2) The elements of mechanics, solid and fluid, treated mathematically.
- (3) The elements of chemistry.
- (4) The elements of physics.
- D. The elements of religious knowledge, always including (a) specified portions of the Old and New Testaments, some portions of the New Testament being offered in the Greek. (b) *Either* one of the Creeds, with a specified portion of the Thirty-nine Articles, *or* a period of ecclesiastical history. (c) Some portion of the Old Testament, to be studied in the Hebrew Text, or in the Version of the Septuagint, or in the Version of the Vulgate, *or* some apologetic treatise. (The treatise at present to be offered is Butler's "Analogy," Part I., omitting chapters i. and vi.) Of these numerous subjects each candidate is required to pass in three, which may be taken at separate times. One of the three chosen must be either A (1) (Classical), or B (2) (French or German); the only other restriction as to choice is that not more than two subjects may be taken out of any one group.

A man may therefore—to summarise the curriculum—obtain a Pass degree if he satisfies the examiners in

Cæsar (four books), Xenophon, "Anabasis" (four books).

Arithmetic.

Algebra to simple equations, *or* Euclid, i. and ii.

Latin prose, Greek and Latin grammar.

Herodotus, v. and vi.; Terence, three plays; Cicero, two orations.

Elements of Logic.

Two Gospels in Greek, subject matter of the Acts, or two books of Samuel.

French, elementary law, and elementary chemistry.

We have now given a careful outline of the work required for an Oxford degree, and we have paid almost exclusive attention to the Pass degree. The great majority of Anglican clergymen hailing from Oxford are Pass men, as are no doubt the greater number of priests trained in Catholic schools. Our comparison as regards culture of the one clergy with the other must of necessity deal only with the majority of each body, and, therefore, with the Honour men of neither have we any concern.

We have still to consider whether the life led at Oxford or passed in a Catholic college and seminary is the more fitting as a preparation for Holy Orders, and, therefore, inclusively of the general culture of the man. The advantages of Oxford life are considerable. They chiefly consist in social intercourse amongst men of different colleges, which results in interchange of views, and the rubbing off of rough edges in manner—advantages which are invaluable to those who have to go out into the world.

There is also a certain amount of rule and discipline, though very insufficient, which is of value in teaching men self-restraint in after life, and there is a foundation laid for steadfastness of character in those who do not enter the University for pleasure or to gain a footing on the ladder of social success—by living for three or four years with an object in life, to which all their thoughts must be directed—the obtaining of their degree. There is also the advantage of living in an atmosphere of culture, amongst resident Fellows and Professors, who have all gained honours in the schools, while some in their ranks are numbered amongst the greatest scholars of the world. In addition to these advantages there is one which is by no means inferior to them in practical value—the splendid physical training which men acquire, owing to the healthy competition between the various colleges in rowing, cricket, football, and athletics generally. But, notwithstanding all these advantages, we are obliged to come to the conclusion that the university is not so well fitted for the training of an ecclesiastic as are the Catholic schools. We are led to this conclusion by the absence of a theological training, and the presence of a general air of indifferentism or want of enthusiasm in religious matters amongst the members of the university. There are, of course, schools of fiery zealots in the university, who are earnest in fighting for their various "shibboleths," but there is no general striving to live up to the motto inherited by Oxford from Catholic times, "*Dominus illuminatio mea.*" There are Ritualists, not only at Keble, but at other colleges, who support the Ritualistic churches in the town; talk much of their "Catholicity," and the power of *the Church*—but who would be puzzled to define it; who indulge in their rooms in a great display of ecclesiastical æstheticism and cloud the air with unblest

incense, and who are very particular to use book markers correct in colour according to the ecclesiastical season. There are the extreme Low Church people, who throng to St. Aldates, and spend their time between missionary breakfasts, replying to the lampoons and caricatures hurled at them by the Ritualists, in preaching at the "Martyrs" memorial, and in distributing tracts, which are distinguished by neither learning, charity, nor good taste. There are, we believe, even "Salvation Army" soldiers and amateur Buddhists. There are Broad Churchmen—some of them occasionally coquetting with "Free Thought;" but there is no absolute Atheism in any degree worthy of notice. Notwithstanding these various schools of religious thought—and, indeed, owing to their existence—there is not that universal religious sentiment permeating all ranks of the university, which alone could give it that character of piety which renders a place of education fitted for the training of a priest. The presence of clerical Fellows, about whom there is always a suspicion—in very many cases we are glad to believe false—that they have merely taken "orders" to retain their fellowship, who do little clerical duty outside their college chapels, and who do not appear in many instances to take much interest in the progress of their "Church," does not add to the religious enthusiasm of the undergraduates over whom they rule. They are, moreover, very broad in their views—in fact, theologically too charitable, and, where the view that one religion is very nearly, if not quite, as good as another prevails, zeal for a particular Church to which they are about to be ordained is likely to be lacking in candidates for its ordination. As an example of this excessive toleration we may cite an instance coming within our actual knowledge. An undergraduate, who was reading for the Divinity school, went to his tutor—a most distinguished man, in addition to being a clerical Fellow—and asked leave to substitute the Epistle to the Galatians for the Articles of the Church of England, in which he did not believe. "Galatians are much harder," replied the tutor; "take the Articles. I don't believe in them myself, I am inclined to be a Buddhist." The ecclesiastical tone of the university is also damaged by the fact that many of the intending divines who are its alumni have neither love nor qualification for the calling which they have made up their minds to embrace, but who are induced to take "orders," either to fill family livings, or in order to obtain some immediate income upon leaving college, being compelled to do so either by poverty or debts.

Like unity of faith, unity of habit is wanting at Oxford. There is no fixed rule of life, like that which we shall presently see exists in Catholic seminaries. An Oxford man rises, or should rise, in time for College Chapel at eight. In many colleges there

is a roll-call, which may be substituted for chapel, and an attendance at one or the other on three or four mornings of the week is expected on the part of each undergraduate. The service in chapel consists either of the Litany or a curtailed version of the Morning Service of the Book of Common Prayer, and, lasts about a quarter of an hour. Breakfast follows chapel, and, being served in each man's room, varies according to his taste and length of purse. From ten to one o'clock the time is occupied by lectures. After luncheon each man may spend the remainder of the day as he pleases. Some men go on the river, others play tennis, cricket, or football, according to the season, or walk or drive. Dinner, which is served in the hall of each college, takes place about six at most of the colleges, and, dinner over, each man is again free to pursue his individual tastes. Some read, others go to wine parties, others again engage in music or cards. Some men go out of college—to the "Union," for the debates or newspapers, to the various clubs, or to play billiards, or to parties at other colleges. The only regulations as regards these amusements are that men must be in college before midnight, and that music is not permitted in college after certain hours. After Hall the statutes provide that men going out of college must wear caps and gowns, but the great majority prefer to risk the fine of five shillings rather than obey the regulation.

Let us now turn to the curriculum for the Pass degree of the University of Cambridge. For the first, or as it is called, the Previous Examination, the subjects to be offered in the present year are—for Part I., St. Luke's Gospel, or Plato's "Apology of Socrates"; Plutarch's "Life of Nicias"; Horace, Odes ii. and iii.; Latin and Greek grammar, unprepared Latin translation (use of dictionary allowed). Part II., Paley's *Evidences* or Jevon's *Logic*; Euclid, i. ii. iii., definitions 1-10 of Book v., props. 1-4 and A of Book vi.; arithmetic and elementary algebra. For the General Examination, the Acts of the Apostles, Thucydides, Book vii.; Virgil, "Georgics" i. and iv.; elementary algebra, elementary statics, elementary hydrostatics and heat, Latin prose, English essay, and Shakespeare's "Tempest" are the subjects which must be offered. The student, having passed the Previous and General Examinations, may now choose for the Special Examination one of several schools. They are—

(a) Theology, in which the subjects are (1) Old Testament: Jeremiah (historical portion), Nehemiah, Ezra, Zechariah; (2) Greek Testament: S. Mark, Galatians, and S. James; (3) English Church history: Outlines to A.D. 1830, Life and Times of Tyndale; and (4) the optional subject of Hebrew: Jeremiah, chapters xxxiv.-xliv.

(b) Moral science, in which the subjects are logic and political economy.

(c) Law and modern history, in which the subjects are—for Law, part of Blackstone's "Commentaries," and part of Lord McKenzie's "Roman Law"; and for History: Outlines from 1066–1820, Hallam's "Constitutional History," Creighton's "History of the Papacy during the Reformation," vols. i. and ii.

(d) Natural science, including chemistry, geology, botany, and zoology, of which the student must only take up one.

(e) Mechanism and applied science.

(f) Music, including acoustics, counterpoint, and harmony, in not more than four parts.

(g) Modern languages, which include English language and literature, and either French or German, with the literature of the language selected.

Upon a comparison of the curriculum of Oxford with that of the sister university, it will be seen that there is very little difference between them, excepting that at Cambridge a student is required to know more mathematics than he would be required to study at Oxford. At both universities a Pass man is required to take up portions of four classical authors. The amount of theology is about equal in each. A Pass man must, unless there is a conscientious objection, take up at Oxford two Gospels in Greek, and the subject matter of either the Acts of the Apostles or of two books of Samuel. At Cambridge he must offer S. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, and he may offer Paley's Evidences. At either university a student is at liberty to make theology a special subject for his degree, but in both universities the examination is rudimentary when viewed by one who has had any insight to the study of theology as it occurs in the ordinary training of a priest. At Oxford, as we have seen, a candidate must offer specified portions of the Old and New Testaments, a portion of the New Testament in the Greek, either one of the creeds, with a specified portion of the Thirty-Nine Articles, or a portion of ecclesiastical history, some portion of the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin; or Butler's "Analogy," Part I., omitting chapters i. and vi. At Cambridge portions of the Old Testament must be offered, a Gospel and two Epistles in Greek, and the outlines of English Church history to A.D. 1830, and the "Life and Times of Tynedale."

Such is the curriculum, such is the learning, such is the discipline, such is the pass theology of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—founded for the teaching of Catholic theology, formerly the home of the most learned theologians of the regular and secular clergy, at which Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon taught. What a contrast, as we shall later see, to the discipline and theology of English Catholic colleges—what a con-

trast to the life and learning of the universities themselves at a time when they taught theology to the world!*

The range of studies [writes the present Warden of Merton College] was truly sublime, both in its aims and in its orbit. In the chilly squalor of uncarpeted and unwarmed chambers, by the light of narrow and unglazed casements or the gleam of flickering oil-lamps, poring over dusky manuscripts, hardly to be deciphered by modern eyesight, undisturbed by the boisterous din of revelry and riot without, men of humble birth and dependent on charity for bare subsistence, but with a noble self-confidence transcending that of Bacon or of Newton, thought out and copied out those subtle masterpieces of mediæval lore purporting to unveil the hidden laws of Nature as well as the dark counsels of Providence and the secrets of human destiny—frivolous and baseless as they may appear under the scrutiny of a later criticism—must still be ranked among the greatest achievements of speculative reason.

And in another passage—

Assuredly Oxford then contained a vastly greater proportion of English learning and culture than it does in the present day.†

Having examined the course of studies, and, so far as we are able, the manner of life at the chief training institutions of the ministry of the Establishment, let us now turn our attention to the Catholic colleges, and subsequently to their successors, in the education of a priest, the seminaries. It may be said that it is unfair to compare the Catholic colleges with the universities, as more work must of necessity be done at college than in the university, as in the college both school and university courses are combined. It must, however, be remembered that, although the Catholic curriculum undoubtedly contains much that ought to be done by the Protestant student before he enters the university, there is this essential difference between the systems—with the Catholic the school work *must*, while with the Protestant it only *may*, be done. At the Catholic college every boy must labour through the prescribed course, while it is not an essential preliminary to a university career that the student should have been educated in a school at all. He is only required to pass the entrance examination at the college of his choice, and may have read the necessary subjects, and such subjects only, with a private tutor.

The educational system pursued at our great typical colleges, Ushaw and Stonyhurst, is very similar, and it is marked by the

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. i. p. 16; Anthony à Wood, vol. i. p. 159.

† "Memorials of Merton," by the Hon. George Broderick, pp. 35 and 17.

healthy characteristics of long and patient study tested periodically by examination from outside. The examiners can in no way be personally interested in the college, being, at Stonyhurst, the examiners appointed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for examining schools, and at both colleges the more advanced scholars graduate at London University, having to pass in the ordinary course the examinations for Matriculation, B.A., &c.

At Ushaw the course of education, up to the beginning of theology, covers a period of no less than ten years, each year being devoted to one class. In the earliest classes the boys are taught the elements of English, Latin, French, arithmetic, and geography. They next enter the class known as "Low Figures," and, advancing in the subjects already read, they have in addition to study English history, Latin composition, and elementary Greek. In Latin they read Cæsar "*De Bello Gallico*" and Cicero "*In Catilinam*." In his next year the scholar proceeds to "High Figures," and, continuing his Latin course, reads Cicero "*De Senectute*," select letters, "*Pro lege Manilia*" and "*Pro Marcello*," and Sallust's "*Catilina*." In Greek, in addition to grammar and composition, the "*Anabasis*" of Xenophon has to be read. English composition, the history of Greece, and mathematics (algebra to simple equations, and the first book of Euclid), in addition to French and geography, form the subjects of study in this class.

In the next class, "Grammar," the study of Latin and Greek grammar and composition, of English composition, of geography and French is continued, the history of Rome succeeds the history of Greece, mathematics proceed in algebra to the end of simultaneous equations, and in geometry to proposition xvi. of Euclid, book iii. In Latin, Cicero ("*Pro Milone*," "*Pro Archia*," "*Philippic II.*" "*De Amicitia*" and "*De Officiis*") and Livy form the text-books, and in Greek, Xenophon's "*Cyropædia*," select dialogues of Lucian, Plato's "*Apology of Socrates*" and Herodotus have to be mastered. In the next class, "Syntax," the composition in Latin and English comprises both prose and verse; more advanced study of English history and of geography is undertaken, and, in addition to progressive work in Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics, mechanics have to be studied. In Latin the authors to be read are Cicero "*De Oratore*," Tacitus, Horace, and Virgil; and in Greek, Thucydides, Demosthenes, "*Philippic I.*" or "*De Corona*," and Homer.

The succeeding class, "Poetry," is the preparation for Matriculation at London University, and the work to be done comprises Latin, Greek, French, English language and history, with the geography relating thereto, mathematics, mechanics, and chemistry, and composition in English, Latin, Greek, and French.

In the class technically called "Rhetoric," in which the chief work is preparatory for the Intermediate Arts Examination of London University, the subjects are—Latin with grammar, history, and geography, one prose author and one poet, unseen translations, and English to be translated into Latin; Greek, one author, with grammar, English language, literature (including Early English), and history, French, mathematics, and, as before, composition in English, Latin, Greek, and French. After "Rhetoric" the students spend two years in Philosophy, and are divided into two classes, the one comprising those who from any cause are not preparing for the B.A. examination, and the other comprising those students who have this examination in view. The former division spend two years in the study of Natural Philosophy, including astronomy, magnetism and electricity, acoustics, light, and heat, and Moral Philosophy, including a complete course of Scholastic philosophy. Both subjects are studied during the two years, the day's work being divided between them. The latter division follow the subjects required by the London University. These are Latin with grammar, history, and geography, two authors, one in prose and one in verse, unseen translations and translation from English into Latin; Greek with grammar, history, and geography, two authors, one in prose and the other in verse, and unseen translation; English language and literature, including Anglo-Saxon, and pure mathematics.

After the B.A. examination every ecclesiastical student, as a matter of necessity, and many of those not intending to take Holy Orders, complete their college training by going through, in "Moral Philosophy," a complete course of scholastic philosophy. These lectures on Scholastic, like those on Moral philosophy just mentioned, are delivered in English. The text-books principally used are Sanseverino's "*Philosophia Christiana in compendium redacta*," and, for ethics, *Liberatore*.

Such is the training which every student receives. Laymen and ecclesiastics here separate; the layman leaves the college cloister to take his place in the world. The candidate for Holy Orders remains at Ushaw; for, when he has received the lay or general education, he is only as yet upon the brink of his studies, for he has to undergo a further course—that of theology, which occupies about four years. To return, however, to secular education, common to both classes of students. It is unnecessary minutely to examine the work of each class at Stonyhurst, as the course there is very similar to that of Ushaw. The ground covered is in each case very large, and the results of the numerous examinations which the colleges have undergone prove exclusively that the work is thoroughly well done. For six-and-twenty years Ushaw has continually sent up students to the examinations

of the University of London, and during this quarter of a century has succeeded in passing 296 students in the Matriculation Examinations. Of this number 63 have obtained honours—many, prizes—and of the Pass men 196 have been placed in the first division, and 37 in the second. The Intermediate Arts Examination has been held at Ushaw nineteen times since 1863. Ninety-six candidates have passed, sixty-nine in the first and twenty-seven in the second division. Of these sixteen have gained honours in Latin, and the exhibition in Latin of £40 per annum for two years has been gained four times. The B.A. examination has been held eighteen times. Ushaw has passed fifty candidates—thirty in the first and twenty in the second division. Eight have obtained honours—six in classics and two in animal physiology. One candidate gained the University Scholarship of £50 for three years, and another won it, but was disqualified by being three days over the appointed age. Seven students have taken the M.A. degree, two passing in mental and moral science, and five in classics. The gold medal in classics has been awarded only fourteen times since the foundation of the University in 1837, and twice it has been gained by a candidate from Ushaw. The results of examinations are equally satisfactory as regards Stonyhurst. At the examination last year by the Oxford and Cambridge examiners of the lower classes, a very satisfactory report was obtained, and the Stonyhurst papers on unseen Latin authors “were,” says the report, “amongst the best sent in.”

Since 1840 Stonyhurst has regularly sent up students to the examinations of London University with very successful results. At Matriculation 374 Stonyhurst candidates (up to last year) have been passed, and 86 have obtained honours. Before the honour examination in special subjects was abolished in 1863, the first place in classical honours was carried off five years successively by Stonyhurst. Since the Intermediate Examination was established in 1864 the College has passed 74 candidates. Stonyhurst has also figured in the honour lists. In Latin 39 candidates have gained honours, in French seven, in mathematics two, and in English, German, physics, zoology, and chemistry, a Stonyhurst candidate has gained honours. In the B.A. Examination 110 candidates have passed. In classics 42 have gained honours, in French two, mental and moral philosophy one, and one each in German and mathematics. In the M.A. Examination six candidates have obtained their degree in classics, one in mathematics, and two in philosophy.

In the different examinations 15 candidates have obtained either medals, exhibitions, or prizes, or have obtained sufficient marks to entitle them to such honours, were it not that they were

disqualified by age or some other cause from actually reaping the reward they had earned. In one year a Stonyhurst candidate—Mr. H. Lucas—gained the gold medal in philosophy, and also qualified for the gold medal in classics.*

We have now examined the ground covered in the educational course of Catholic colleges, and also stated the amount of work required for a Pass degree in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It has been made manifest that both in breadth of education in the number of subjects and in the thoroughness with which each subject is studied, the colleges are in no way inferior to the universities. A thorough education is given at the colleges, and as this education is received by every member of the college, whether lay or clerical, and by the clergy only as a preparation for their theological course, it is clear that, in the sense of a liberal education, the Catholic clergy educated at the English colleges are not wanting in culture, and that the charge of the *Quarterly Review* is, so far then, absolutely without foundation. It may be urged, however, that Catholic education is narrowed and restricted by the exclusion of modern philosophy. In the first place, it should be pointed out that modern philosophy forms no part of the ordinary degree course at the universities, and, this being so, the majority of the Anglican ministers are as void of it as are the Catholic clergy. In the second place, let us consider whether modern philosophy is worthy of a place at all in education. Of the philosophy which forms a part of the Oxford Honour schools the late Mr. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, wrote:—

It appears to me to be a fatal objection to our 'philosophical' course that it encourages speculation not based upon knowledge. . . . As mental training it is surely most unsound. . . . I think the fears of the Catholic party, whether within or without the National Establishment, are substantially well founded. It is especially the philosophical subjects which have developed themselves within that school which alarm the Church party. This party must either conquer or be content to see all the minds that come under the influence of that training—that is, all the minds of any promise that pass through Oxford—hopelessly lost to them (DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1868, p. 414).

* The general results of the London University examinations, as regards candidates from all the Catholic colleges and schools, were thus summarised in the *Tablet* of September 8, 1888: "The number of candidates passing Matriculation has been 920; Intermediate Arts, 246; Bachelor of Arts, 126; Master of Arts, 16; Latin Honours, 84; Classical Honours, 45; of candidates who have obtained recognition—either in actual prizes or in marks qualifying for prizes—from the University, Ushaw numbers, 33; Stonyhurst, 20; the other colleges combined, 18."

We accept the evidence of this eminent Protestant witness, and at once admit that this philosophy is impossible to a Catholic—it is mischievous in itself, and “as mental training it is most unsound.” But the Catholic colleges, we have seen, possess the real and true philosophy in the place of its modern equivalent, and where every clerical student spends his last years at college and his first at the seminary in earnest study of this branch of knowledge, it is absolutely unfair to suggest that, for want of “philosophy,” the Catholic clergy are uncultured.

There remains for our consideration the further question whether our colleges are better places than the universities for candidates preparing for the priesthood, and, if spotless purity of life and thought and general unworldliness are to be considered essential in a priest, there cannot for an instant be a doubt that we should do ill to exchange our colleges for the universities as clerical seminaries. In Catholic colleges there is unity of faith, and religion daily taught and inseparably connected with the daily life. There is the highest moral and religious tone amongst the boys, who are constantly under the eye of the masters, between whom and them there is the best possible feeling. From the time that a Catholic boy is entered at a preparatory school until he leaves college at the age of twenty or twenty-one, he is constantly under discipline and rigid supervision, in a society where anything but the highest moral tone would be vigorously tabooed as “bad form” by the boys themselves. As regards physical education and recreation, the colleges are, at least, equal to the universities. As we have taken Ushaw and Stonyhurst as representatives of all the English Catholic colleges with regard to education, we take Stonyhurst as an example—representing all the other colleges—with regard to discipline and recreation. No better picture of college life could be drawn than that contained in the report of Mr. Shuckburgh, the Examiner appointed by the Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board. In his report, made in August last year, he writes:—

The discipline and general demeanour of the boys impressed me very favourably. There is more continuous supervision than is common in English schools, some of the masters being present at all hours, whether of study or recreation, but the boys seemed on excellent terms with the masters and with all the Fathers who were in any way connected with them.

The provisions for healthy sports, cricket, tennis, racquets, fives, are most ample, and under conditions far superior to many of the public schools. The boys have a debating society and a school magazine, in both of which subjects of a great variety of interest appear to be freely discussed. There are large supplies of healthy English literature in the play rooms, apparently of a very varied and liberal description,

and the masters seemed to me to spare no efforts in drawing out the tastes and peculiar faculties of the boys under their charge, and, as far as I could judge, the result was a good tone among the boys, and an excellent understanding between boys and masters.

It must be obvious that the Catholic college course comprises in no small degree not only mental, but also moral, culture, and this being so, that the atmosphere of the colleges is far better suited for the preparation of a priest than the universities would be. In the colleges all are being educated, all have been there from early boyhood, the discipline and tone are excellent, while at the universities there are many men who never attempt to take a degree, or if they do, read only in the most meagre fashion, and who, by their extravagance and "fast" life, impart a worldliness which is unknown in a Catholic college, and in so doing become what may be termed intellectual wrecks. But while our colleges are everything that is desirable as places of education, it is useless to disguise the fact that, for want of a university, Catholics are placed at a disadvantage. We miss the social intercourse between men of different colleges which is so valuable in polishing manners, in rubbing off rough corners in manner and in thought—destroying the narrowness and prejudices which must exist in any isolated college—dethroning, in fact, what Lord Bacon so well calls the "*Idolum Specûs*." We miss the social advantages which indisputably are gained by residence at either of the universities—above all, we miss the rich endowments which, by fellowships, scholarships, and prizes, form such a powerful incentive to work. But, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which Catholic education labours, we contend that in ordinary culture the Catholic priest, educated at one of the English colleges, is the equal, if not the superior, of an Established Church clergyman, who has taken a Pass degree at one of the English universities.

We must now leave the general education which is common to both Catholic clergy and laity, and examine the special ecclesiastical education which each English candidate for the priesthood is bound to undergo, and in doing so it will be made manifest that each priest must have more than the ordinary amount of culture.

The mere outline of studies pursued and books read, while it clearly demonstrates, so far as theological knowledge is concerned, the vast superiority of Catholic clerical training over the training of the ministers of any Protestant sect, does not disclose a tithe of the advantages of the Catholic system. In the Establishment the question whether a candidate for the ministry has a vocation is practically left to his own solution. With the Catholic, not only is his long course of study and dis-

cipline especially designed to fit him for the holy office of priest, but during the whole of his ten or twelve years of education he is constantly watched in order that the bishop to whom he applies for ordination may know whether he is fitted or not for the calling to which he aspires. Further than this, the career of an unfitting candidate would be stopped by the vigilance of his masters and confessors long before he ever reached the bishop. Notwithstanding all these wise precautions, it is, of course, possible that improper persons may, and even do, enter Holy Orders, but the excellence of Catholic training is proved by the fact that so few priests disgrace their holy office. The *Quarterly Review* sneers at the number and calibre of converts to the Catholic faith in England, but, notwithstanding the temptation which there is for priests to leave the Church in order to marry, we can afford to add the numbers of our priests disgraced for immorality to those who have espoused Protestantism—marriage has been in nearly every case the cause of such perversion*—for still our loss would be insignificant, both as regards numbers and intellectual calibre, when compared with our gains, even minimised as they are by our contemporary.

We will first take the strictly ecclesiastical training at Ushaw. It follows the ordinary general education, and the course covers at least four years. It comprises mental and moral philosophy, and Church history, which occupy the first year, and dogmatic theology, moral theology, pastoral theology, sacred Scripture, elocution, extensive sermon writing, and delivery of sermons, canon law, and singing, which take up the remainder of the time. The teaching is partly by lectures and partly by private study and essay writing. In each year after the first, fifteen sermons have to be prepared. Five subjects are given out at a time, and on a given day the students meet, and one of the subjects is chosen by lot, and upon it each student has, within two hours, and without reference or other assistance, to write a sermon. The students are also frequently required to prepare and write essays on theological subjects, and they are expected to devote a large portion of the time not occupied by public lectures and exercises to private study.

* Conversion to Protestantism has always been, in the great majority of cases, caused by a desire to marry. Erasmus sneers at the "converts" of his day upon this ground. "They call it the Lutheran tragedy—I call it a comedy, for it always ends in a marriage."

A story is told of a priest going to the venerable ex-Bishop of Birmingham. "My Lord, I have certain difficulties on my mind as to my continuance in my priestly functions." To which the Bishop simply replied: "Indeed! pray, what is her name?"

Erasmus also wrote of the Reformers: "They have only two objects—a wife and a fortune."—Op. iii. 1189 B.

Take, again, a typical example of the Catholic seminaries at which the secular clergy are prepared for ordination. At St. Joseph's College, Walthew Park, Upholland, near Wigan, the secular clergy for the diocese of Liverpool are educated. It is an exclusively ecclesiastical college, and students are received there after completing their classical course at St. Edward's College, Liverpool. After their arrival at St. Joseph's two full years are occupied with the study of philosophy and natural theology. Lectures are daily delivered by the professors upon these subjects, and also upon ecclesiastical history, English literature, and an introduction to the sacred Scriptures. Essays are also periodically written, criticised in class, and shown to the rector.

Following the two years course of philosophy is a three years course of theology—dogmatic, moral, and ascetic. Lectures are daily delivered on these subjects, and also on sacred Scripture, Church history, and the Church's rubric and ritual. The students are moreover trained in reading and sacred eloquence, in the composition of lectures and sermons, and it is hoped that next year a chair of canon law may also be added to the curriculum.

The life at St. Joseph's is eminently fitted as a preparation for the ecclesiastical state. The students rise at 6 A.M.; meditation, 6.30; at 7, Holy Mass; at 7.40, breakfast; 8.15–9.30, private studies in preparation for professors' lectures; 9.45–10.45, lectures; 11–12.45, private study, a portion of which is often occupied by lectures on some collateral branch of studies or training in ecclesiastical music; 1 o'clock, dinner; after which, recreation until 3.15; and then private study until 4.15, when there is a lecture until 5.15; at 5.15 a cup of tea, and recreation until 5.30, when there is private study until supper at 7; at 7.20, first prayers, consisting of the rosary and a chapter read aloud from the New Testament; after which, recreation, generally devoted to private reading, until 9.15, when second prayers complete the duties of the day, and at 10 all lights are extinguished.

At the Diocesan Seminary of St. Thomas, Hammersmith, the students have a divinity course, which lasts at least three years and a half. Before entering the seminary they must have had a thorough education in "Humanities," and have gone through a complete course of Christian philosophy. The work at the seminary comprises the study of dogmatic and moral theology, together with a certain amount of ascetic theology, lectures on certain parts of the sacred Scriptures, lectures on ecclesiastical history and on canon law, together with lessons in Church music and on the practice of preaching. The life at Hammersmith is, as at the other clerical training institutions, almost conventual

in its character, the priesthood being the aim of every student, and the portions of the day unoccupied with lectures, study, or the needful recreation, being taken up with religious observances which do not differ in any material particular from those in use in the French seminaries, and described by Dr. Ward in his "Ideal of a Christian Church," * as related to him by a French Abbé, and which, for its great interest, we shall be excused for largely quoting.

In order [the Abbé wrote] to form our candidates for the priesthood to the holiness necessary to the state of life for which they are destined, the rule prescribes the following methods:—

I. *Vocal prayer* at half-past five in the morning. It is short, and proceeds as follows: 1. The student puts himself in the presence of God, by a special act of faith in the truth of His universal presence, and adores Him. 2. He thanks God for the gift of the day thus beginning, and consecrates to Him all its actions, promising to do them all in imitation of Him. 3. He recites in the ecclesiastical language the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo. 4. He commends himself to the Blessed Virgin, to his patron Saint, to his guardian Angel, that they may watch over and protect him during the day, and by their prayers obtain for him the grace of which he has need. The whole concludes with acts of faith, hope, and charity, of contrition and renewal of baptismal promises.

II. *Mental prayer*, or a meditation, in which the student first bows down in adoration before God, acknowledging himself unworthy of keeping himself fixed in His divine presence, and calling upon the Holy Spirit to help him in his meditation. He then enters on the consideration of the object proposed for meditation, all the while frequently entering into himself, by acts of humiliation, by making good resolutions, and one special good resolve for that very day. These two exercises, the vocal prayer and meditation, last half an hour. In those seminaries directed by the community of St. Sulpice they last an hour.

III. *The holy sacrifice of the Mass*, which is offered up immediately after meditation.

IV. *Holy Scripture*. Every one is in the morning to read a chapter of the Old Testament, and in the evening one of the New. The rule warns us that the object to be sought for is the quickening of the heart (*vie pour le cœur*). It would be a departure from this object if any one were to read the Scripture at this time in order to improve himself in learning, or to satisfy his curiosity.

V. *Spiritual reading*. This takes place either in the morning or in the evening. The books recommended are "The Imitation," "The Spiritual Combat," "The Christian Perfection of Rodriguez," "The Memoriale vite Sacerdotalis," &c.

* "Ideal of a Christian Church," by Dr. W. G. Ward; p. 317 and following pages.

VI. *Examination of conscience.* A quarter before twelve all go to the chapel for the particular examination. This means an examination as to the progress made in some virtue specially proposed by each for his own acquisition, or in conquering some vice proposed in the same way for correction. The book used in this exercise is Father Tronson's "Examens Particuliers," a work full of profit for the ecclesiastic. This particular examination does not supersede the general examination made in the evening, and which includes all the thoughts, feelings, words, and actions of the day.

VII. *Visit to the Blessed Sacrament.* Each student is bound to go every day for a quarter of an hour into the presence of the Holy Sacrament. This exercise, the special joy of the devout soul, consists in adoring Our Lord present under the eucharistic elements, in thanking Him for the happiness of being in His holy presence, in begging His pardon for the faults which we have committed, in asking of Him to grant us the graces of which we have need, and in praying that he will deign to manifest to us His holy will and lead us on to do it.

VIII. *Spiritual conference.* This name is applied to a religious discourse spoken every evening by the Superior to the whole community, from half-past six to a quarter to seven. It is a familiar instruction on the duties of a Christian and of a clergyman in particular.

IX. *The Chapel.* After the discourse of the Superior, each student recites five decades of the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. These prayers are sweet to a Christian's mouth, and never seem long however often they may be repeated. Advice is given that at each decade the person reciting the chaplet should think upon some virtue which he would acquire, and beg of God to grant it to him by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin.

X. *Evening prayer.* This finishes the day. The prayers then said are the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Apostles' Creed. The confession of sin is made by a prayer, called the Confiteor; then acts of faith, hope, and charity, and of contrition, are made. Prayers are offered up for the dead. In conclusion, the Superior gives out the subject for next day's meditation. Sometimes the choice of it is left to the students. The rule advises them to *fix their thoughts upon it just before going to sleep and as soon as they awake.*

XI. I had almost forgotten to say that the studies, lectures (classes), and meals are begun and concluded with prayer. Also, in the morning, at mid-day, and in the evening, the prayer called the Angelus is recited, and this is done to pay honour to the mysteries of the Annunciation and Incarnation.

XII. *Confession.* Every student is bound to confess *at least once a fortnight.* Few of them wait so long. The object of this confession is to obtain absolution and leave to communicate.

XIII. *Holy Communion.* The rule does not prescribe Communion, but it expresses a wish that all should communicate at least every Sunday. The confessor, in the secrecy of the holy tribunal, determines

how often the Holy Sacrament should be received. He judges by the state of the penitent's soul. In order to communicate frequently, it is requisite that the recipient lead a life of faith (*vie de la foi*), and that by his spiritual progress he make it evident that this heavenly food does him good. For some years past we have had the comfort of seeing our students communicate some two, others three, four, five, or six times a week. We are indebted for this consolation to the good state of the *smaller seminary*, from which our students come to us almost entirely formed.

XIV. *The monitor.* Every pupil is bound to choose one of his fellows for a monitor. The pupil who agrees to undertake the office is obliged to warn him to whom he is monitor of all that he sees wrong in him. This advice, given in a spirit of charity, is commonly of great benefit.

XV. *The spiritual director.* Every pupil is also obliged to take from among his masters a director, to whom he from time to time applies to confer with him on his spiritual state (*ses dispositions intérieures*), on the way to correct, improve, and perfect it. This laying bare of the heart to the director thus chosen contributes in an especial way to the spiritual welfare of the students, provided it is made in a great spirit of faith. Generally each pupil makes choice of his confessor for his director.

XVI. *The relations with the Superior.* The rule advises the student to enter into communication with the Superior, to visit him often in order to receive his advice, and, if need be, his private rebuke. This wise provision enables the Superior to gain a knowledge of the pupils, to form them, and to assure himself of their vocation. For this reason his door is never shut against them: and he feels himself called upon to give them all his time. . . .

XVII. *The Retreat.* The year commences and finishes with a retreat. The retreat which ensues on the meeting of the seminary after the vacation lasts three days, exclusive of the day which opens and that which closes it. All these days are passed in silence. Each one then examines his conscience, confesses, makes plans for the good employment of his time, and prescribes himself with this object in view a special rule, in order to help himself on in the ways of Christian and clerical perfection. In some seminaries the retreat lasts nine days. The retreat at the end of the year is shorter. Its object is the good employment of the vacation.

We now come to the Seminary of the Jesuits at St. Asaph. St. Beuno's College is situated near to the old cathedral town, and, standing on a hill, commands a wide prospect of the beautiful vale of Clwyd. The students usually number between forty and fifty, and are, with rare exceptions, members of the Society of Jesus, who, having completed their philosophical studies at St. Mary's Hall, or seminary, attached to Stonyhurst, have been employed in the work of the colleges—Stonyhurst, Beaumont, &c.—for some years, and who are now again gathered

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together to go through their course of theology, and make their immediate preparation for the priesthood. On entering the college they are usually about the age of thirty. The priesthood is received one year before the end of the course. The students are arranged in two divisions. The greater number follow what is called the Long Course, of four years; the rest are in the Short Course, of three years, being those from whom, for reasons of health or other causes, it is considered inexpedient to exact severer labour. The subjects taught by public lectures in the long course are scholastic theology, moral theology, Holy Scripture, and Hebrew. In scholastic theology lectures are given daily by two professors, in the morning and in the evening. The matter is so arranged that the two professors are at any time dealing with distinct but kindred treatises; thus, in a particular year, one perhaps will take the Sacraments in general and the Sacrament of Penance, while the other treats the Sacraments of the Holy Eucharist and Matrimony. Scholastic theology being distributed into eight portions, the whole is studied by those who hear the two professors for four years.

Besides the lectures, the students have to attend and to take part in disputations. These disputations are held for the long term students four times a week, and for the short term students three times a week. At a disputation one student defends some doctrine of the school against two others, who attack it in strict syllogistic form. The Latin language is employed in these disputations, as well as in all the lectures and other public scholastic exercises throughout the college.

All the students of both courses study moral theology during the first two years of their college course. One lecture is given each day, and the students are frequently exercised in the solution of practical cases.

The lectures on Holy Scripture, given daily, are attended by the long course students of the third and fourth years, and by the short course students in their third year. Besides the matter ordinarily included in general introductions to Scripture, the professor selects some particular book, of which he gives a full exposition, the book being usually chosen from the Old or New Testaments in alternate years. In all the lectures a great variety of authors of every age is laid under contribution, and the professors of course further illustrate their remarks by the results of their own experience and research.

Besides the public work, all the students have facilities and guidance in the pursuit of all branches of ecclesiastical learning in the widest sense, each according to his individual tastes. In particular, there is constant practice in preaching, and in public speaking in debates on miscellaneous subjects.

The physical health of the students is as well cared for as is their mental and ecclesiastical training: they enjoy plenty of outdoor exercise, and walking, fishing, tennis, and gardening are favourite employments.

In dealing with the subjects studied at the Catholic colleges we have spoken of philosophy and theology. It will be well, so far as possible, to give an outline of the subjects treated under each, in order to show the vast scope of each science, and to demonstrate the excellent mental training they afford, even independently of the thorough classical and general education, which we have seen must of necessity precede them in the English training of a priest.

Philosophy is either theoretical or practical. Theoretic philosophy comprises *Logic*, which expounds the nature of mental action, the laws which should govern it, and the order which should be followed in search of truth. This necessary introduction to philosophy being mastered, the student now enters into more strictly philosophical inquiry. In *Dynamilogia* he seeks to learn about mental faculties, their nature, the proper object, manner, and action of each. This investigation leads up to the study of two subjects of the greatest moment—*Ideologia*, which inquires how, by the help of the faculties, we may acquire a primary knowledge of things; and *Criteriologia*, which treats of the power of the faculties to discriminate the truth relating to things. *Ontologia* is the next branch to be studied. It relates to those universal ideas upon which the rest of the sciences are founded. Some of the subjects herein considered are *Ens*, or being, substance, accident, quantity, space, quality, action, the passions, and places. *Cosmologia* follows; it treats of the known universe, and, amongst other subjects, of the atomic theory, of the chemical system, of the system of Aristotle as expounded by the schoolmen, of the body, of vegetable life, of the brute creation, physical laws, and of the origin of the world. *Anthropologia* expounds the nature of man, and treats of the relation of the mind to the body, the seat of the mind, and other kindred subjects. *Theologia Naturalis*, or the study of the nature and attributes of God by the light of human understanding, apart from revelation, completes the course of theoretic philosophy.

In practical philosophy, or ethics, those things are treated of which belong to practice rather than theory, or to the universal law of morals to which a man is bound to conform his actions. In the philosophical course all authors are referred to, many are studied. In Sanseverino's work, for example, which is a development of scholastic philosophy to meet modern requirements, and which is a text-book commonly employed, frequent references

are made to the different philosophical schools, and the errors of Kant, Locke, Descartes, and others are exposed by the syllogistic method, whenever their authors have departed from the truths of Catholic philosophy.

The course of Catholic theology is stupendous, as we should expect from the vastness of Catholic theological literature. At St. Beuno's College alone there are 35,000 volumes in the library, nearly all of which are theological books. According to the late Mr. Matthew Arnold one Catholic work alone overpowers all the Protestant theology in the British Museum :—

Let him go in London to that delightful spot, that Happy Island in Bloomsbury, the reading-room of the British Museum. Let him visit its sacred quarter, the region where its theological books are placed. I am almost afraid to say what he will find there, for fear Mr. Spurgeon, like a second Caliph Omar, should give the library to the flames. He will find an immense Catholic work, the collection of the Abbé Migne, lording it over the whole region, reducing to insignificance the feeble Protestant forces which hang upon its skirts. Protestantism is duly represented, indeed : the librarian knows his business too well to suffer it to be otherwise. All the varieties of Protestantism are there ; there is the library of Anglo-Catholic theology, learned, decorous, exemplary, but a little uninteresting ; there are the works of Calvin, rigid, militant, menacing ; there are the works of Dr. Chalmers, the Scotch thistle valiantly doing duty as the rose of Sharon, but keeping something very Scotch about it all the time ; there are the works of Dr. Channing, the last word of religious philosophy in a land where every one has some culture, and where superiorities are discountenanced, the flower of moral and intelligent mediocrity. But how are all these divided against one another, and how, though they were all united, are they dwarfed by the Catholic Leviathan their neighbour ! Majestic in its blue and gold unity, this fills shelf after shelf and compartment after compartment, its right mounting up into Heaven among the white folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*, its left plunging down into hell among the yellow octavos of the *Law Digests*. Everything is there in that immense *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, in that *Encyclopédie Théologique*, that *Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique*, that *Troisième Encyclopédie Théologique*, Religion, Philosophy, History, Biography, Arts, Sciences, Bibliography, Gossip. The work embraces the whole range of interests ; like one of the great Middle Age cathedrals, it is in itself a study for a life. Like the net in Scripture, it drags everything to land, bad, good, lay and ecclesiastical, sacred and profane, so that it is but matter of human concern. Wide embracing as is the power whose product it is ! A power for history at any rate, eminently the Church. . . . ("Essays in Criticism," p. 226).

It must be remembered that the work of which Mr. Matthew Arnold speaks in such forcible tones is neither one of the greatest nor the most valuable books to be found in Catholic theology.

The works of the Angelic Doctor St. Thomas Aquinas and of St. Alphonsus, for instance, are more valuable—more valuable, more spacious, and more voluminous, taken collectively, are without doubt the works of the Jesuits and of other Orders. Let us, for example, glance at the contents of one book of St. Alphonsus and then at one of the works of St. Thomas—the special object of the vituperation of Froude and Seeböhm. Apart from the argument, it will be well to let our non-Catholic readers judge for themselves as to the aims, the method, and the subject matter of scholastic theology, and to allow them to compare the system as it really is with the distorted picture in which Froude and other writers have presented it. In the moral theology, which the modern editors have, of course, brought up to the standard of modern requirements, St. Alphonsus treats of, first, human actions and the conscience; second, laws—a very complete course of jurisprudence, in which the definitions are specially lucid and valuable; third, the duties of men in every rank and calling; fourth, vices and sins, each vice and sin being considered in principle and in detail, and the various censures and punishment which are the consequences of each, being examined; fifth, the virtue of religion—private and external, and herein of devotion, prayer, the Divine office, vows, oaths, and festivals: the opposite vices are also explained—superstition, irreligion, blasphemy, and simony; sixth, the virtue of justice, and under this head are treatises on jurisprudence, politics, and political economy; seventh, restitution—to whom and under what circumstances restitution must be made: under what limits can the right of possession be exercised by those who have acquired under doubtful circumstances, and many other cases are examined, which are of importance and frequently occur in actual life; eighth, the theological virtues—faith, hope, charity, and the various sins against each; ninth, the Sacraments of the Church. Take, again, a work of St. Thomas Aquinas—the “*Summa Minor*,” which is constantly in the hands of every student for the priesthood, and which is essentially representative of scholastic theology. In the edition of Dr. Lebrethon (Paris, 1873) a preliminary course has been added to meet modern requirements. This introduction principally explodes the errors of the so-called Reformation. It treats of the three great sources of theology—reason, tradition, sacred Scripture, of the Church, the supreme Pontiff, councils, the Fathers, the authority of canonists, theologians, historians, &c., and the censure of unsound propositions. It proceeds to consider true religion, what religion is, revealed religion and the necessity for revelation, the mode and object of revelation, the signs or characteristics of revelation—*e.g.*, miracles, prophecies—primitive religion, the authority of the books of the Old Testament, the

divine origin but temporary character of the Jewish religion, the existence of Christ and the Apostles ; the Divinity of Christianity proved by the Prophets, by miracles, and the Resurrection of Our Lord, by its miraculous spread, by the numbers and constancy of its martyrs, and by its innate excellence. This portion of the work concludes with treatises on the Divinity of Christ and the duration of the Christian religion, and proves that the Christian religion is obligatory upon all mankind. The Church of Christ is the subject of the third treatise. Its existence, the definition of "Church" and the constitution of the Church, are the preliminary subjects. Then the marks of the true Church are considered—its unity, sanctity, catholicity and apostolicity, and the application of these marks to the Catholic Church. These marks are proved to be wanting in the Greek Church and in the Protestant sects. The constitution of the Catholic Church is next dealt with under the articles of its hierarchy, its head, and its members. The infallibility of the Church and of the Pope is also proved, and the temporal power of and the duty of love towards the Church are dealt with.

We now come to the pure scholasticism of St. Thomas himself.

He first of all deals with sacred doctrine—he defines it and marks the boundary to which it extends. He then treats of God, His existence, His attributes, His will, His justice and mercy, His immutability, His perfection, of goodness in general and of the goodness of God. He next explains the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, and discourses upon the creation of things. Next St. Thomas discusses the nature and power of angels, the work of the six days of creation, the human soul, the first man, the government of things, the last end, human actions, passions, habits, virtues, vices, and laws. He then speaks of grace. The next treatise is devoted to Christian virtues, faith, hope, charity, prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and states of perfection. St. Thomas finally deals with the doctrinal matters of the Incarnation, the Sacraments, and of the Resurrection and of Eternal Life.

Such is the noble scope of scholastic theology which modern authors have dared to attack as childish, as narrowing, and as dealing with trivial matters. Its terseness and lucidity, and its logical and syllogistic method form in themselves an excellent mental training.

We have dealt at length with only one branch of theology. Voluminous writers have to be studied in dogmatic, moral, patristic, and ascetic theology. In addition to the study of these profound subjects each student is bound to pass through a course of deep and critical training in Holy Scripture.

We have now laid before our readers the course, the life, and

the studies of the universities on the one hand, of the Catholic colleges and seminaries on the other. Upon comparison the superiority of Catholic ecclesiastical education over what exists at the universities in the place of clerical education for the ministers of the Establishment can hardly be seriously disputed. We have seen that as regards the ordinary Pass man of each ecclesiastical body the ordinary education of our English Catholic college is at least as likely to produce culture as the English universities; while as regards that most important branch of it, theology, the priest must be immeasurably more learned than the parson. Further than this our priests are trained for their sacred calling, trained in theology and trained in philosophy, which the Anglicans are not. It must also be obvious that the life at our colleges, a life of constant supervision, strict discipline, and persistent religious training, when compared with life at the universities, where a system of false liberty, both of thought and action, prevails, is not only more favourable to culture, but is also a better preparation for a clergy who are bound to lead a life of celibacy, chastity, and self-denial, than a course would be at the universities, rich though they are in social advantages, in endowments, and in tradition.

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ART. VIII.—IRISH INDUSTRIES.

1. *Industrial Ireland*. By ROBERT DENNIS. London : John Murray. 1887.
2. *The Commercial Restraints of Ireland*. By JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON. Re-edited by W. G. CARROLL. Dublin : Gill & Sons. 1882.

A BOOK on contemporary Ireland which eschews the thorny path of politics is sufficiently phenomenal to be noticed on that ground alone. But Mr. Dennis's compact little volume, apart from its singularity in this respect, is worthy of serious study as a practical handbook to the commercial resources and capabilities of the country it treats of. If it is discouraging in one direction, from its recital of all that has been left undone, it is cheering in another, as a guide to what it is yet possible to do ; and, while the reader is in one page reduced to despair by the large expenditure of capital and energy represented as necessary to a country whence capital seems disposed to fly, and where energy has yet to be created, he is restored to hopefulness as he turns to the next, and finds set forth the potential riches of a land, which man, not Nature, has stricken with the curse of sterility. To show the Irish people, "what varied employment for their labour, what virgin sources of national wealth, lie within their grasp, if they will only pluck up courage and energy and enterprise equal to that which the Irish race exhibits in other parts of the world," has been the author's aim as stated in his preface, in the hope of thus arousing in them that spirit of self-help, without which all other gifts are lavished on a nation or an individual equally in vain.

To the fatal tendency of Ireland to export her raw produce, even when compelled to buy back the same materials in a higher stage of manufacture, he attributes much of the chronic misery of the country, and he shows in what innumerable directions this cardinal sin against the maxims of political economy militates against her prosperity.

Thus she exports nearly all her rags and imports her paper ; ships her rich iron ore across the Channel to get back pig iron from Scotch and Northumbrian foundries ; despatches her live cattle to England, carrying their hides on their backs, to be there manufactured into leather, and fetching thence nearly all her saddlery and seven-eighths of her boots and shoes ; supplies wool to the looms of Bradford, yet spends annually a quarter of a million in the purchase of hosiery in Germany and Scotland ;

manures her fields with the superabundant produce of her fisheries, yet brings from across the water Scotch-cured fish for her own consumption.

The Irish marbles are a feature of all English decorative architecture, where the peachy flush of that quarried at Armagh may be seen vying with the clouded greens of the Galway serpentine, yet large quantities of Italian and Belgian marble cut and polished ready for use are annually passed through the Dublin Custom-house, and chimney-pieces and monuments come completely finished from abroad. An attempt recently made to "boycott" the church of the Augustinians in Cork, for having imported an altar from London, shows the unsound state of the native trade, for a saving of £100 is stated to have been thus effected. In other quarries Ireland is equally rich, and, for her own purposes, equally in vain. Great part of the Thames Embankment is faced with Dalkey granite, and four varieties from Down and Armagh may be seen in the Albert Memorial, yet shiploads of the same stone are brought from Cumberland to Dublin, and Irish houses and churches are built of Bath and Caen stone.

As to various minor industries the same tale of neglected opportunities is told. Wicker baskets are brought from the South of France, yet osiers, which in three years are worth £2 to £3, and eventually £20 per acre, would form a profitable fringe to the waste edges of Irish bogs and rivers, while basket-weaving, at which even a second-rate worker can earn £1 per week, would agreeably diversify the six months idleness of an Irish cabin. The extensive demand, again, for straw bottle envelopes, is principally satisfied by importation from France to the annual value of £100,000, a single firm of wine merchants alone, out of three hundred in Dublin, importing two millions a year at a cost of 16s. per thousand, with an added 5s. for freight. A better quality is actually produced in Ireland at less than two-thirds the price, 10s. per thousand with 2s. freight, but the manufacture, though carried on in a small way at twenty-two places, is altogether inadequate to the demand, which, it is calculated, would suffice to give constant employment to all the poor of Dublin at an average rate of wages of 10s. per week. Thus a source of comparative wealth to many indigent families is absolutely confiscated to the benefit of the foreign workman, by the absence at home of all industrial organization.

A still more melancholy tale of once flourishing industries, now moribund or extinct, is told in our author's pages. The typical history of the glass manufacture is narrated by him as follows:—

In the last century there were twenty-two flint-glass manufactories in Ireland. At the beginning of the present century there were fifteen.

Of these, thirteen lived till well within the century. There now remains only one. The factories at Waterford, Cork, and Newry used to turn out goods of the very finest quality. Old Irish cut-glass is eagerly sought for by collectors. The writer has himself bought in Waterford wine glasses of local make and of the highest degree of finish and brilliancy. They had been in one family nearly a hundred year. The famous "Glass House" of Waterford, where they were made, was in good working order thirty-five years ago. The gasalier in Waterford Town Hall is a good specimen of its manufacture. A Waterford decanter will now fetch treble the price of the best English crystal. The "Glass House" came to an end in consequence of a strike. It was owned by very rich people (they were Quakers), and when the workmen struck they quietly gave up the business and went away. Unhappily this is not the only instance in which a strike has killed an industry in Ireland. In certain other cases the works were stopped because they could not be made to pay, or because when foreign competition arose the glass-makers were seized with that species of paralysis which we have before observed in connection with other trades.

Ireland, from her abundant supply of granite, the substitution of which for sand dispenses with the use of sulphate of soda as an ingredient in the process, is peculiarly favourably circumstanced for the production of glass, and at Elbogen and Dresden five million bottles are annually manufactured from granite identical with that found in her northern counties. Yet Belgian glass undersells home-made in the Irish market, and a factory recently opened in Dublin had to be closed for this reason.

English competition on the other hand, or the fear of it, has killed the paper manufacture, for which large mills formerly existed in Dublin, Cork, and other places. For the rougher descriptions, now made from miscellaneous substances, this is inevitable, but in the finer qualities, made from rags, Mr. Dennis believes that a little enterprise only is needed to enable Ireland to hold her own. She still carries on a large manufacture of paper bags, but made entirely from imported material.

Coachbuilding is another of the trades whose prosperity is a thing of the past. The number of hands employed in it in Dublin, reckoned, at the close of the last century, as high as 1700 to 2000, had, after the famine, declined to 700 or 800, and the twenty-five factories then at work have since dwindled to ten, employing only about 200 men. English importation, combined with the depression of the landed interest, are here the principal causes of deterioration.

Of humbler handicrafts the same tale of steady decline is told. Thus the Irish boot and shoe manufacture, which formerly supplied the entire home market, is now ousted from seven-eighths of it by the inferior, but cheaper, production of English lasts.

The tanneries which once existed in every Irish town have disappeared, the curing of hides being effected in the West of England by a more expeditious, though less effectual, process than that in vogue in Ireland. Brushes, formerly an article of export to England, have now ceased to count as an Irish product, no factory being licensed for their manufacture, carried on, where it exists, only by individual workmen.

Mr. Dennis's list of languishing and decadent trades includes, in addition to those already mentioned, engraving, gun-making, glove-making, locksmithy, sculpture, ship-building, soap-boiling, chandlery, tool-making, type founding, shirt and collar making, straw hat making, fancy box making, bleaching and dyeing, button-making, machine lace making, cooperage, and sugar-refining.

All these industries [he says] are dead or dying. English competition has driven Irish cutlery out of the market, as our cutlery is being driven out by German wares. The Irish gentry no longer require guns, save for self-defence, and even these they buy in England; pin-making languishes for lack of Home Rule (so says the solitary pin-maker in Ireland); the copper and brass trade is declining from the sheer absence of skilled workmen, there being a very general aversion in the trade to apprentices; and jewellery is no longer bought—at least, none of Irish manufacture. Even dial-plate making, which formerly supported a good many skilled hands in Dublin, has died out. A few years ago there was but one dial-plate maker left in Ireland. He would not take an apprentice, and went to England. His disappearance killed the trade, and the plant he used was purchased for 15s. by the Museum of the College of Science.

A firm of gold and silver lace makers struggled against fate for forty years and then gave in. The banks of the Suir, at Waterford, used to ring with the merry hammers of the shipbuilders, but they are silent now. There is not a town in Ireland where you may not see one or more derelict mills, hollow and roofless, testifying to the lifeless condition of manufacturing industry in general.

Flour-milling, till recently a most lucrative trade, is in a state of woful decadence owing to American competition, so severely felt that two-thirds of the Irish mills have been closed within the past ten years. The larger concerns which still hold their own have only been enabled to do so by the adoption of steel rollers in place of the old mill-stones, the heating of the flour by the friction of the latter, producing so great a deterioration of its quality that it cannot compete with that which has undergone gradual reduction in the steel rollers. The American flour being all roller-ground, displaces the stone-ground quality, which no baker will take when the other is available.

The mutual interdependence of the various industries is curiously illustrated by the effects of this transference on cattle

and dairy farming. Flour, being a cargo easily stowed and handled, is brought by shipowners at nearly nominal rates, while the bran and other refuse of the grain separated in milling are so bulky and springy as to be necessarily left behind.

Hence it follows [says our author] that the offal of wheat and oats, which is so valuable for pig and cattle feeding, is chronically at famine prices. Thirty-five years ago the Irish millers were glad to get from £3 to £4 a ton for their bran; but now it readily fetches £6 or even £8 a ton, and the millers cannot supply the demand. In other words, the Irish cattlemen and dairymen have to pay double the intrinsic value of the bran, it is at once so necessary and so scarce. The Irish millers themselves admit that they could hardly work and meet the competition in foreign flour were it not for the exorbitant price they get for bran. That fact of course considerably handicaps the cattle and dairy industries. The price of bran in Ireland very often exceeds the price of wheat, a circumstance which led us to remark before that the cereal crops of Ireland, if they exceeded the needs of the population, might profitably be turned into food for cattle. One of the indirect effects of the revival of milling in Ireland would therefore be one of the most important. All the bran produced would sell readily at a good price, to the benefit both of producer and consumer; cattle raising and dairy farming would pay better, and the classes favourably affected would be able to raise their scale of living.

All these statements as to wheaten flour apply equally to oatmeal, of which large quantities are also imported from the United States, though oats, unlike wheat, is the staple cereal crop of Ireland. The evils of the present system are so great and obvious, that Mr. Dennis ventures, "with bated breath and with whispering humbleness," to mention the proposed remedy of a small protective duty amounting to 1s. per sack or 8s. per ton on imported flour, raising the price of the quartern loaf by half a farthing. The arguments on both sides are summed up by him as follows:—

On the one side, bread a farthing per eight pounds dearer. On the other, employment for thousands of mill hands, abundance of cheap milk and butter, a consequent increase in the growth and consumption of oatmeal, this in itself having in turn a favourable influence on the cattle and dairy industries; a large supply of cheap "seconds" flour for those who can afford it or do not care for oatmeal; with subsidiary advantages to the sack industry, the twine industry, carriers by sea and land, and so on. The question is whether the increased employment, the better and cheaper food, would make up for the extra half farthing on the loaf. It is rank heresy, we believe, to formulate such a question; to answer it in the affirmative would be high treason. Perhaps we had better let it alone.

It is, however, allowable to remark that, since bread is not in

Ireland, as in England, the poor man's staple food, the question of protection stands on a totally different footing in the two countries, and it is a pernicious error of modern doctrinaires to treat them as if their interests were in this respect identical. The belief, moreover, that a separate Irish legislature would find means, despite all statutory restrictions, to impose protective duties in favour of Irish industries is, in many minds, a strong, though unavowed, argument for Home Rule. The secondary results to a country of the sacrifice of any portion of its trade are too often left out of sight by theorists on political economy on this side of the water.

The modern revolution in transport, enabling English and American competition to crush out native production in these various branches of industry, is the main cause of their extinction, and its effects are assisted and redoubled by the high rates of inland, in contrast with the cheapness of foreign, transit. The inequality thus created is equivalent to a bounty on foreign as against native goods, and Mr. Dennis styles the system pursued by the Irish railways as a war waged by them on the industries of the country. The high fares charged for passenger traffic combine with infrequent train service to act as a check upon this department of the carrying trade, and the proportion of individuals who travel to the whole population, which in England amounts to twenty, is in Ireland but three and a half per cent.

Similar results, with more disastrous consequences, have ensued from the strangling of goods traffic by exorbitant rates, and the railway receipts per mile have remained practically stationary since 1849, a period which in England shows a fourfold, and in Scotland a threefold increase. Road carriage in Ireland consequently still competes successfully with steam transit, and carrier vehicles may be seen flowing in a continuous stream parallel to most of the lines of railway. But the heaviest injury is inflicted on local industry by the preferential rates in favour of imported goods, compulsorily enforced on the Irish railways under the dictation of the companies owning the English lines. They are thus constrained to transport sea-borne goods landed at the Irish ports at lower rates than those charged for conveyance from one part of Ireland to another. Hence such anomalies as the charge of 17s. 6d. for the transport of a ton of flax from Stranorlar in County Donegal to Belfast, a distance of 100 miles, while it may be brought from Flanders for 21s. 6d., or only 4s. more. The railways seek to recoup themselves by exorbitant charges on local traffic for the ruinous rates at which they are compelled to carry British and continental goods, and the low scale of through freight thus imposed, renders it actually cheaper for Irish wholesale houses to import their stock from England than to purchase

local products in other parts of Ireland. Heavy and cumbersome goods in particular, such as stone, slate, and marble, bricks, pottery, and earthenware, are more cheaply brought from over sea than carried for comparatively short distances overland in Ireland, and the whole internal trade of the country is so heavily handicapped in consequence that no manufacture can be carried on profitably save at a sea-port.

Mr. Dennis thinks the evil sufficiently crying to warrant State intervention, on the principle of a bargain with the railway companies, by which, in consideration of a guarantee of something like three per cent. interest on capital, they should consent to a revision of rates, the extension of facilities for traffic, and a certain amount of supervision by the authorities.

While Irish industry is thus overweighted by cost of transport in the struggle against foreign competition, it has to contend against a still more insidious adverse influence, in the prejudice against its products in the minds of the Irish themselves. Thus, though their homespun friezes are so popular abroad that an Irish province has given its name to the most universally worn overcoat in the world, though Lord Waterford exports nearly all his woollens to France, and the Blarney mills weave for Yorkshire and America, the very paupers in Ireland were, until recently, clad in Scotch tweeds and Bradford hosiery. A step in the right direction was taken in 1881, by the guardians of the North Dublin Union, when they determined to clothe the inmates of the workhouse in home-made fabrics. The example thus given was followed by other Unions, with the result, not merely of stimulating the native manufacture, but of effecting a saving in many cases of twenty per cent. in price and 100 per cent. in durability.

The spirit of preference for foreign articles pervades even the peasantry, and a recent American traveller,* entering the principal shop in Dungloe, a village in Donegal, and asking to be shown some home-made woollens, was told there was no sale for them, while piles of Scotch tweeds at higher prices were pointed out to him. The taste of the better classes in fancy articles of luxury follows the same bent, and the beautiful Belleek porcelain finds a market in every country but Ireland. Mr. Dennis tells of a visitor to the pottery, who saw, in the packing rooms, goods to the value of from £500 to £600 made up, not only for London, Paris, Rome, Florence, and Vienna, but even for New York and Philadelphia, while a paltry £5 covered the value of the orders for Ireland.

* "Ireland under Coercion. The Diary of an American." William Henry Hurlbert. Edinburgh; David Douglas. 1888.

If in manufactures, foreign competition combines with native taste to thrust the Irish producer from the market, it must be admitted that in agriculture his own thriftlessness is a powerful ally of his rivals abroad. Farming, though the chief business of the mass of the population, is carried on by methods described as the most barbarous in Europe, the alternation of barley with potatoes, and an occasional crop of oats by way of interlude, being the only substitute for the scientific rotation of crops considered indispensable elsewhere. This primitive system of husbandry is due to dependence on the potato as the principal esculent, the simplicity of its culture being its chief recommendation in the eyes of the Irish peasant.

He turns up his land [says our author], plants it, waits four or five months, and then digs the crop. The product of these operations is his sustenance. It has not, like cattle or wheat, or any of the higher products of farming, to be turned into money before it can be made available for his own use. The complex transactions by which producers and consumers in a civilized society provide for the wants of others and secure the satisfaction of their own do not enter into the economics of the Irish peasant. He sticks his potato into the ground, and in due time he gathers the harvest. Feeling hungry, he goes to his store, deals himself out potatoes enough for a meal, claps them into a pot, eats them, and is content. He is, in fact, only one remove from the savage who digs up roots from an otherwise undisturbed soil.

The relationship between the kindly earth and the mouth it fosters was rendered still more direct by the fatal practice formerly prevailing of only digging the potatoes when required for use, and leaving them soaking until then in the damp soil, instead of storing them in dry pits as soon as mature. The gradual enfeeblement of the plant by this treatment is believed to have predisposed it to disease, and thus to have been the chief cause of the Irish famine.

Scarcely less woful is the mismanagement of the hay crop. Not alone is it allowed to suffer considerable deterioration by too long deferring the harvest, but thousands of tons, worth £4 per ton in Dublin, Liverpool, or London, are annually lost from neglect of the means required for fitting it by compression for railway transport. Nor can ignorance or want of means be pleaded in extenuation of this wilful waste, for Mr. Dennis tells us how the Midland Railway Company got from America, some years ago, four of the most improved trussing machines, and vainly tried to instruct the people in their use.

That [he goes on] was when hay, unsaleable at the place where grown, would have been eagerly bought for £4 per ton in Dublin. The machines are now lying idle, nobody seems to know exactly

where. There was one case in particular of a man who could not sell his hay for £2 per ton. He was offered the chance of trussing it, and sending it for a charge of 7s. 6d. per ton to Dublin, where it would have fetched £4. He would not do it, he would not take the trouble.

In the great national industry of dairy farming, for which Ireland is better adapted by soil and climate than any part of Europe, the same neglect of improved methods has placed her far behind many other countries inferior to her in natural advantages. Irish butter, once admittedly the best in the world, has now to sail under false colours in order to cheat the English consumer's palate, as under its own name it is practically unsaleable in London. One of the principal Co-operative Stores in that city, which takes a large supply from the well-managed dairy of Mrs. Travers, Timoleague, County Cork, actually sells it as "Danish," and indignantly repudiates the possession of a single pound of Irish butter. The displacement of the latter in the London market is represented by a decrease in its importation between 1848 and 1884 from 379,000 to 5,168 packages, while that of foreign butter swelled, in the same time, from 576,888 to 1,703,772 packages. The comparative price list is equally significant, for Danish and German butter are at its head at £6 10s. and £6 respectively; Swedish, French, and Belgian come next at £5 14s. 6d., £5 12s. 6d., and £5 3s. 6d.; and Irish salt butter is classed lowest at £4 19s. 3d.; the quality known as "mild cured;" of which only a limited quantity is made, being, however, rated higher, at £5 11s. 6d. Thus there is a foundation of truth for Colonel Saunderson's caustic remark that "Cork butter is now used for the adulteration of butterine."

This reversal of the relative positions of the Irish and Continental producers is due at once to the stationary position, if not actual retrogression, of Irish dairy farming during the past sixty years, and to the rapid strides it has made throughout the rest of the world during the same period. Cows of an inferior breed, neglected in all the hygienic details essential to produce the animal perfection required of them, half-starved in winter, and allowed to roam the pastures practically wild in summer, yield but 123 pounds per year of comparatively inferior butter, instead of what should be their normal production—viz., 200 pounds of a much higher quality. Incredible slovenliness characterizes all the processes of the dairy; the milk is set in the close, ill-ventilated sleeping-rooms of the family, the churning is of the most primitive description, and the butter, heavily salted and dripping with water, sometimes in the proportion of 20 per cent. to its weight, is sent to market in a dirty firkin, if not in a rude lump tied in a cloth. As an instance of the want of nicety cha-

racterizing its subsequent treatment, may be mentioned the practice, frequently witnessed by the writer in the case of a country buyer for the Cork market, who invariably wiped the long scoop used for sounding the firkins on the mane of the nearest horse before plunging it in for the extraction of the next specimen.

Since the landowners, who, in England, take the lead in the improvement of this branch of rural industry, have been in Ireland alienated or abolished, Mr. Dennis thinks the intervention of the State is there urgently required, to rescue from total collapse a trade of such magnitude that its proceeds are still estimated at six million sterling. This course has been pursued in the countries of Northern Europe with such success, that in Finland the production of butter has been doubled within the last ten years, and its price multiplied by two and a quarter.

Meantime, it is pleasant to record that native initiative has not been altogether wanting, and that the success of the Munster Dairy School near Cork may well encourage the creation of similar institutions elsewhere. Not only do the eighty dairymaids annually trained there command high wages, both in their own country and in England and Scotland, but the profits realized by the sale of the products of the school already go near to superseding the local guarantee, by rendering it self-supporting.

A commendable spirit of enterprise has also been shown in the eagerness with which the new process for separating cream from new milk by centrifugal machinery has been adopted throughout Ireland, a large trade in sweet cream having been thus created. A fresh industry in tin cans has also sprung into being as a secondary consequence, and the sudden demand for labour in this department along the banks of the Cork river caused recently quite an influx of prosperity among the classes affected. The revolution in the dairy business due to this invention is illustrated by the increase in the production of Danish butter from an average of nineteen million pounds yearly between 1877 and 1882, to thirty-two millions in 1887, and an estimated forty-five millions in 1888, a result attributed, in the Consular Report, to the use of centrifugal separators to the number of 2200.

The breeding of Kerry cows for stock ought to be a lucrative branch of Irish dairy farming, as they are comparatively scarce, and sell, when good, at very high prices. These little creatures, specimens of which, no larger than an ordinary donkey, formed an attractive feature of the Exhibition at Olympia, are very profitable to keep, from their large yield of milk in proportion to food consumed.

The parcel post has in a small way been a boon to the Irish dairy farmers, enabling them, when they can command private custom, to deal directly with the consumers, thus cutting off intermediate profits, and at the same time to escape the heavy transport rates, which render it cheaper to import butter into London from the rival producing countries of Europe than from the neighbouring island. Cattle-raising for the slaughter-house occupies a still larger place than dairy farming among Irish rural trades, the numbers exported amounting approximately to half a million of horned beasts and a million and a half of sheep. Mr. Dennis urges by forcible arguments the necessity, on economic grounds, of substituting a trade in dead meat for this large export of live cattle, as the deterioration of the carcasses from the sufferings inflicted on the animals by the journey, averaging thirty shillings per head, causes an absolute loss of over a million a year, sunk, as he says, in the Irish Channel. The value of the hides is also diminished by the condition in which the animal is slaughtered, while the leather trade is crippled by their export, and a number of lesser industries, like those connected with horn, and various forms of offal, are altogether annihilated. American and colonial competition is cited as a barrier to the Irish dead meat trade, but since the carcasses, instead of being frozen, as for a long sea voyage, would require merely to be chilled and transported in refrigerating vans, there is no reason why they should not be as profitably sold as those brought from Scotland under like conditions. The real obstacle, in Mr. Dennis's view, is the opposition of the middlemen, who have secured the control of the business by large advances to the graziers, together with the possession of a large proportion of shares in the cattle steamers. An experiment in this direction was actually made by the Midland Great Western Railway, and the attempt to develop a fresh pork export trade by the erection of an abattoir, where, in 1884, 20,000 pigs were slaughtered, proved, as far as it went, a complete success. The system never received, however, any further extension, for the reason, plainly stated by Sir Ralph Cusack, chairman of the railway, that "the traders did not like it." It is one of the misfortunes of Ireland, that the current of trade there never seems strong enough to sweep away the obstacles raised by private interests in order to dam it up in a particular channel.

The seas of Ireland should be as great a source of wealth as her pastures, yet here again her industrial history is one of misused opportunities. Her coast-line, of some 2000 miles in extent, is inhabited by a hardy and adventurous seafaring population, who yet see the fish, with which their waters teem, swept into the nets of English, Scotch, Norwegian, and Dutch fishermen, with scarcely an effort even to dispute the prey with them. The case

of a neighbouring country in all respects less favourably circumstanced offers a striking contrast.

Scotland [says Mr. Dennis], with a coast-line only 500 miles longer than that of Ireland, with fewer harbours, and less fruitful and more tempestuous seas, supports by her fisheries one-seventh of her entire population. Ireland supports less than one two-hundred-and-fiftieth.

That the decrease in this proportion is progressive is shown by the falling off in the number of men and boys employed in fishing, from the estimate of 50,220 for 1862, to 21,482 for 1886. Want of proper boats and gear is the principal cause of this neglect of natural resources. Decked vessels of about 30 tons, costing from £200 to £400 each, are required for the deep sea fishing thirty or forty miles from shore, for which the small craft in use are quite unsuited. The inferiority of the gear and tackle is owing to ignorance of the art of net-making, practised by the fisher-folk of other countries, the cheaper and worse descriptions alone being within reach of the scanty means of purchase available. A sudden rise in the price of kelp some years ago, from £5 to £7 per ton, caused an actual retrogression in this respect, as the seafaring population, diverted from their proper avocation by the inflation of the rival industry, allowed their fishing-gear to fall into disrepair, which, with kelp now depreciated in price to £3 per ton, cannot be easily remedied. Then the lack, equally of proper transport to convey the fish to distant markets, and of curing-houses to save it on the spot, leads to destructive waste in seasons of abundance, and it is a common sight to see the potato gardens manured with sprats after an unusually plentiful take. Meanwhile, a traveller asking for salt fish at an inn in Connaught will be regaled with a dried haddock or herring, caught by a Scotch fishing-boat within thirty miles of the spot, conveyed to Dundee or Glasgow to be cured, and reimported into Ireland to be eaten in view of the ocean where it swam when alive.

The indolence or superstition of the fishermen is another barrier to their prosperity, and on certain days of the week, banned by local custom as unlucky, Galway Bay might have been seen, down to a recent time, actually roughened with shoals of fish, while the Claddagh boats lay beached on the strand, and their dark-browed owners lounged idly on the quay. The whole Connemara coast, where lobsters sell for 3s. 6d. to 5s. per dozen, and cod and turbot have no appreciable value, is untapped by a railway, and even the market of Galway is consequently inaccessible to its produce.

Mr. Dennis founds a claim to State assistance on behalf of the

Irish fisheries, on the unequal working of the bounty system established in 1819 and giving a premium on fish taken, fish cured, and boats built. For whereas Scotland had been for sixty years in enjoyment of this subvention ere it was withdrawn, giving her fisheries ample time to achieve an independent existence, those of Ireland were thus artificially fostered only for three years, a term too short to produce any permanent result.

Private beneficence has recently shown how judicious and well-planned assistance may succour a struggling industry, and the story of the Baltimore Fisheries is a lesson in practical philanthropy. The initiative came from the energy and sagacity of Father Davis, whose remote parish in the extreme south of Ireland consists of a group of sea-girt islands and a barren strip of coast. The precarious largesse of the sea alone stood between its inhabitants and starvation, while, for want of proper means and equipments, they were crippled in their only trade. An inspiration of charity suggested to their pastor to appeal, on behalf of his flock, in a quarter where a woman's generous heart holds Fortunatus's purse in trust for all who are at once destitute and deserving. Lady Burdett-Coutts, entering warmly into the scheme of the Irish priest, agreed to advance the large sum of money required to enable the fishermen of Cape Clear to compete on equal terms with their Manx and Dutch rivals, and £10,000 was at one time lent for this purpose, without interest or security. The islanders combined by families for the purchase of some eighteen or twenty of the stout Manx-built boats classed as yawls, costing with the necessary gear about £600 each, and with this fine fishing fleet they are now able to hold their own against all comers. Meantime, not only have the instalments for the repayment of the loan been faithfully and punctually met, but the once starving islanders are transformed into men of substance, with accounts in the local banks, while the decayed hamlet of Baltimore has grown into a thriving fishing port, placed in touch with the outer world by a steamer on the *Ilen* meeting the *West Cork* Railway at its present terminus, Skibbereen.

The success of this experiment has led to its repetition elsewhere. Other loans have been made by private individuals on similar terms, in addition to £200,000, of which only £20 remained unpaid, advanced in the County Clare by the Fishery Commissioners. Thus, a powerful stimulus has been given to the fishing industry throughout the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, causing, as a secondary result, the resuscitation or development of various minor branches of trade.

Nor did Father Davis's efforts relax when his first object had been achieved. Aided by large private subscriptions, Lady Bur-

dett Coutts again coming forward as a benefactress of the cause, together with the Duke of Norfolk and others, while the Government contributed a grant of £5000, and the County Grand Jury one of £1,000, he has established in Baltimore an industrial school of fishery, where 150 boys from all parts of Ireland are being instructed in all the practical business of their profession. The presence of a group of bright-faced sailor lads at Olympia, busied in making and mending nets, has given the British public ocular proof of the existence and efficacy of this institution.

The impetus given by judicious loans to a flagging or nascent industry could not be more aptly illustrated than by the episode of the Baltimore fisheries, which furnishes an encouraging and much needed proof that even in Ireland a great benefit may be thus conferred with little risk. The local banks do not, however, act on this principle, and their illiberal policy is denounced in a vigorous chapter of *Industrial Ireland*. Our author therein accuses them in round terms, of denying all credit to sound local enterprise, while investing in foreign speculation the capital drawn from the savings of the country, and thus draining away the very life-blood of its commercial system.

In regard to drainage, reclamation of waste lands, and the gradual restoration to the once Green Isle of the forest mantle of which she has been so recklessly stripped, he makes out a strong case for legislative or financial intervention on the part of the State, the immediate outlay required being here too large, and the prospect of reimbursement too remote, for the encouragement of private enterprise. We now turn from his discouraging picture of industrial decline, and scarcely less depressing review of resources requiring extraneous assistance for their future development, to the more cheering contemplation of instances where such aid has actually been proved efficacious in the past, or where an industry has flourished by its own inherent vitality.

This has been to some extent the case with the woollen trade, despite its temporary annihilation as a sacrifice to the commercial jealousy of England. The Act of 1699 forbidding the exportation of wool from Ireland to the continent, while from England and Wales it was excluded by practically prohibitive duties, gave a blow to Irish prosperity, which it has never recovered. Nor did this disastrous measure even fulfil its end of securing the desired monopoly, since it was defeated by a contraband trade on such a scale as to enable foreign weavers to undersell the produce of British looms. This restrictive legislation continued in force for forty years, long enough for the universal practice of smuggling created by it to have fostered in the Irish mind that habitual contempt for law which renders the task of governing the country an almost insoluble problem. The party feeling, which still runs

so high between the various sections of the population, may be traced to the same cause, for the linen trade, patronized by William of Orange, as a counterpoise to the persecuted industry, still associates its prosperity with his name, correspondingly execrated in the provinces where the rival manufacture flourished.

The Irish woollen trade has sufficiently recovered from the legislative ban to be now in a fairly thriving condition. There were in 1886 forty-seven factories, working 79,376 spindles and 763 power-looms, with 3136 hands employed. The largest establishments are those of the Messrs. Mahony at Blarney; of Mr. Leachman at Lear Vale, Clonmel; of the Messrs. Hill at Lucan, County Dublin; and of the Marquis of Waterford at Kilmacthomas. The latter previously squalid little village has been transformed into a thriving town by the neighbourhood of the factory, giving employment to 150 hands at good wages. The curious anomaly is noticed, that Ireland manufactures exclusively the class of wool—namely, the short soft staple used for clothing—of which she produces least, the bulk of her fleeces yielding the long staple, or combing wool, mostly sent to Bradford to be spun into worsteds and yarns. The restriction of the home market, owing to the prejudice of the Irish themselves against goods of native manufacture, is the principal obstacle to the development of the woollen trade, which is, in consequence, chiefly an export one. Its products, though more sound and durable, want the finish imparted to foreign cloths by a certain intermixture of shoddy, and some concession to public taste might be advisable on this point, as well as on those of colour and pattern.

The manufacture of poplin, a mixture of wool and silk, with the durability of the one and the sheeny lustre of the other, has always been an Irish speciality. Its very excellence, however, stands in the way of its general adoption, as milliners and mercers hesitate to recommend a fabric which, by outwearing twice or thrice over their ordinary goods, would correspondingly diminish their profits. The difficulty, so often lamented over at the present day, of getting a reliable black silk of foreign make, ought to stimulate ladies to exercise private judgment in this respect by trying the substantial and beautiful textures woven on the farther side of St. George's Channel.

The Ulster linen manufacture is the one Irish trade that stands in no need of extraneous assistance, and can hold its own against foreign competition by the unrivalled excellence of its product.

The condition of the factories, the health and comfort of the work-people, and the position of the article in the markets, leave [says Mr. Dennis] very little to be desired. The total volume of the trade, in-

cluding home consumption, is about twelve millions sterling, and the only really unsatisfactory feature is that five-sixths of the sum paid for the raw material go into the pockets of foreign flax-growers instead of into the pockets of the farmers of Ulster and Connaught.* In all other respects the trade is so managed as to secure to Ireland the greatest possible return. Ireland imports the flax, but she only parts with it again in the most highly finished form. The raw material is manufactured up to its highest commercial value. It is not only woven, but it gives employment to thousands of people in bleaching, in hemming and stitching, in embroidery and wood and paper box making, and in shirt and collar making. That is the proper way to conduct an industry. Industrial organization has reached its highest point when a community is itself employed upon all the various processes, from producing the raw material to turning out the finished article. If that plan were adopted in all the industries of Ireland, the condition of the country would improve by leaps and bounds.

The Irish flax factories were numbered in the official statistics for 1886 at 166, working 826,276 spindles and 21,954 power-looms, with a staff of 61,749 operatives. The whole textile industries of Ireland give employment to 68,158 people, the corresponding figure for Scotland being 152,279, and for England and Wales 814,474. The exports of linen yarns and manufactures from the United Kingdom were valued in 1886 at £6,192,626, an advance on the estimate of £5,947,631 for the previous year, while those of cotton and woollen goods sum up, in round numbers, to 68 and 24 millions respectively. The Ulster linen trade, without altogether escaping the universal industrial depression of recent years, has suffered less than its twin manufacture in England, and has always returned a margin of profit to mill-owners. The largest factory in Ireland is that of the Flax Spinning Company, formerly Messrs. Mulholland, in Belfast, in which 970 power-looms and 2000 operatives are constantly at work. Here the flax fibre may be seen undergoing the various processes of combing and heckling, by which it is reduced from the rough tow-like bundles first manipulated by the "roughers," to skeins as soft and silky as an infant's hair. The process of "wet spinning," still principally in use, implies saturation by steam and consequent high temperature, necessarily trying to the health of the operatives, while the "roughers" suffer from pulmonary affections induced by the irritant dust given off by the flax in its first combing. They decline, however, to submit to the restraint of wearing the gauze respirators, by which these evil effects would be obviated. The linen leaves the looms in

* Flax culture is, however, again on the increase in Ireland, and the minimum of 89,225 acres grown in 1884 had recovered to 127,865 in 1886.

"webs" of from sixty to ninety yards long, still retaining the impress of the vegetable origin in a hue resembling that of newly saved hay. The bleaching grounds are in the country, and the approach to Belfast is indicated by tracts of linen whitening the grass, and suggesting, at a distance, a partial fall of snow. The works at White Abbey, on the Lough shore, about three miles from the town, employ 120 hands in the various processes undergone by the "web" before it is presentable in the market. These consist principally of soaking and boiling in various chemical solutions, followed by machine scrubbing with soap and water, the durability of the fabric depending on the thoroughness of these successive cleansings, which rid it of the lime and acids used to discharge its natural colour. The familiar laundry processes of starching and blueing then follow, sometimes with the addition of wax, the final "finish" being imparted by calendering or passage under revolving cylinders, faced with steel or gutta percha according to the surface desired. The "beetle finish," acquired under the pounding action of a row of vertical beams, rising and falling in succession like the keys of an instrument, is still more costly and effective.

Plain white linen attains its final stage of perfection in the bleaching works, but the figured descriptions have to undergo the further process of printing. This may be seen in the factory at Whitewell, situated among rural surroundings, in a grassy park high up on the mountain side, facing the Scottish mainland across the intervening leagues of blue water. The workmen's cottages are scattered through the grounds or grouped in an adjoining hamlet, and the workmen's children, blue-eyed and barefoot, shout and scamper through copse and clearing. Crazy stairs and worm-eaten floors give a character of Hibernian homeliness to an establishment whose consumption of seventy tons of coal a week proves its commercial activity. Steam printing, by revolving copper cylinders engraved with the design, is carried on in one department, but is less interesting than the primitive method of impressing the pattern on bordered handkerchiefs by hand alone. A block or stamp is pressed on the cloth at regular intervals, after a dip into chemical colour which, pale at first, is developed by subsequent exposure to steam for two hours, when a faint ochre turns to bright red, or a dull brown to deep purple. Diaphanous muslins for the West Indian creoles, and bordered headkerchiefs for the Sandwich islanders, piled in close juxtaposition, testify to the cosmopolitan character of the trade.

A staff of designers is employed on the premises, where the manufacture of the blocks is also carried on. A narrow band of copper, bent at the desired angles and affixed by its edge to the block, gives an endless variety of geometrical traceries, solid colour

being obtained by filling up the interstices with felt, but the more complicated designs are printed with a lead-faced stamp of French manufacture. The copper workers earn, by their highly skilled labour, requiring great manual dexterity, wages averaging 35s. per week. In a series of rooms, called "the library," are stored the disused blocks and cylinders, the latter numbering over 3000. As cotton and linen are printed by the same machinery, Manchester goods in considerable quantity are sent over here to undergo the process.

In another suburb, beneath the shade of venerable elms and beeches, is situated Messrs. Murphy & Orr's factory for the higher qualities of damask. In this establishment the hand-loom alone is used, steam-driven machinery being inadequate to the delicate treatment required by the finer yarns. Here may be seen growing, under guidance of deft fingers, the satin-scrrolled napery which forms the housewife's pride, and here is unfurled in glittering lengths from the loom, that still more beautiful fabric, the silk and linen damask, brocaded in two colours, first produced by this firm for the visit of the Princess of Wales, and intended for decorative table linen such as teacloths and centre-slips.

Flax, in another form, is used in Messrs. Marcus Ward's giant factory for printing, lithography, bookbinding, and ornamental box making, since linen fibre provides all the paper used on the premises. Here might have been seen a short time ago the curious spectacle of a Christmas book, for sale in Amsterdam, being printed in Dutch by Irish type-setters unacquainted with the language. The stamping of railway tickets, each with a different number, by self-acting machinery, is one of the many interesting processes freely subjected to the scrutiny of visitors by the courtesy of the proprietors.

The mill girls of Belfast, recognizable by a dark plaid folded cowl fashion over their heads, are a conspicuous element in the population. Efforts are not spared by the more charitable of their own sex to counteract the rough influences of their daily lives, and evening schools are held for their instruction, in which the classes are taught by ladies. Two large and handsome Catholic churches, thronged early and late by the working population alone, testify to their zeal for the faith here held by the minority, and we may trace a fanciful analogy between the origin of these imposing edifices, raised by the Irish flax-spinners, and that of the Florentine Cathedral, erected mainly by the offerings of the guild of wool.

Irish manufactures are at no disadvantage as compared with their English rivals in regard to their coal supply, conveyed across the Channel at rates, if anything, lower than its inland carriage in England. A large reserve exists, moreover, in the Irish coal-

fields, as yet only superficially worked, and containing an estimated aggregate of 209 million tons. The yearly production is actually decreasing, but only because the upper seams are becoming exhausted, while the deeper and richer stores are as yet untouched. Iron was at one time produced and even exported by Ireland, as the evidence of ancient slag-heaps goes to prove, and the denudation of the island of its timber has even been ascribed by some to the extensive use of wood in smelting. Over a district of 167 square miles in the county Antrim, pisolitic iron, yielding 40 per cent. of metal, is found, yet not a single ton of iron is now smelted in Ireland.

Well may we ask [says Mr. Dennis] why are not the coal of Tyrone and the iron of Antrim brought together to provide work for Irish labour, investment for Irish capital, and wealth for the Irish nation? Why leave the coal undug, and send the crude ore away to Cumberland, to Scotland, and to Wales, at prices that barely pay the cost of mining it? Why does Ireland import pig-iron when she might be so bountifully supplied at home?

The present abnormal state of the coal and iron trade, in which temporary inflation and over-production caused vast accumulation of stocks, supplies, in his opinion, the answer to his questions, and he believes that, if the prices of 1873 had been maintained, "Tyrone would now be the rival of Lanarkshire, and Antrim of Cleveland." Nay, he goes on to prophesy a future time, when, as the English coal supply becomes less accessible, that of the sister island may take its place, since, after it has to be sought in Great Britain at 4000 feet below the surface, it will still be reached in Ireland at half that depth.

But while these larger industries must depend for their future development on the great revolutions of trade, there are minor ones that unostentatiously prepare the road for them, as the minute labour of the coral insect lays the foundations of continents. The habits of industrial activity must be acquired at home, and the Irish hovel, with the six months idleness entailed on its inmates by the absence of multiplicity of culture, has hitherto been a school rather of indolence than of energy. Hence the importance of profitably utilizing this absolutely wasted time by means of the minor avocations known as cottage industries. Of these, lace-making, though exclusively a feminine occupation, is the chief, and the success in this field of the Irish peasant women should be an encouragement and example to their male relatives.

The first rural lace and work school in the south of Ireland was, we believe, the one started in the small town of Clonakilty, now some sixty years ago, by Miss Catherine Donovan, locally cele-

brated as "Miss Kitty." Compelled by health to abandon the vocation of a religious, she resolved to devote her life to good works in the world, and began by forming a little class for the instruction of poor girls in the elements of education, including needlework and a rude species of embroidery. From this humble commencement her admirable talent for organization developed the institution known as the "Clonakilty School," receiving commissions for the execution of lace and work from wealthy and aristocratic customers in all parts of the world.

To a religious, not alone in intention but by profession, Sister Mary of the Presentation Convent at Youghal, is due the invention of Irish point lace. Her earnest desire to help the starving people during the Irish famine set her mind at work on the problem how to do so, and the sight of a piece of old Italian lace suggested the solution. Embroidery, paid for at the rate of a penny an hour, was an industry already practised by the women of the district, and, after much patient study of her pattern, she selected a few of the most promising of these workers, and showed them how to copy it. The result was the production of Youghal point, first exhibited in 1852, at which 125 women, employed by the Sisterhood, are now earning from four to twelve shillings a week.*

Other convents vie with that of Youghal in their lace-work. The Poor Clares of Kenmare design their own patterns, and execute orders for Royalty; the Ursulines of Cork teach the peasant girls to imitate in crochet the old Venetian guipure, and Spanish and Italian point; at Clones is made a beautiful silk crochet, and in Tralee the rougher sort of Greek lace. Carrickmacross is celebrated for its delicate appliqué, Miss Keane's school at Cappoquin for its Venetian point, and Limerick for its old specialty in black and white lace, revived and improved by Mrs. Vere O'Brien.

Another class of embroidery for tea-cloths, curtain-borders, &c., executed on damask from old Italian, Greek, and Turkish designs, is now taught at Garry Hill, on Lord Bessborough's Carlow estate, by Mrs. Edward Ponsonby and other ladies. The articles produced, to which pillow-lace has recently been added, find a ready sale in London, where they are disposed of by Messrs. Debenham and Freebody, as well as by Mrs. Ponsonby herself at 15 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square. To still larger proportions has grown Mrs. Ernest Hart's organization of the work of the Donegal peasantry, and its results may be inspected at Donegal House, 43 Wigmore Street, the London dépôt of the Donegal Industrial Fund. Homespun tweeds and friezes, hosiery and underclothing,

* "Ireland and the Arts of Peace," *Tablet*, Aug. 18, 1888.

knitted and crocheted shawls and wrappers, here testify to the skill of the Irish peasant, when well guided and directed. The art of preparing useful dyes from indigenous plants, thus turning to account all the resources of the country, has been inculcated by the zealous founders of this institution. Though started in 1883 in pure benevolence, it has been rendered not merely a philanthropic, but a commercial success, mainly by the enforcement of the rigorous but necessary rule of rejecting all faulty work.

The Baron's Court Cottage Industry, established by the Duchess of Abercorn, deals in similar goods, and supplies socks to several regiments of Her Majesty's forces, both regulars and militia. The earnings vary from six to twelve shillings per week, and women flock in from ten miles round to receive the materials, weighed out to them by the steward's wife, who weighs again the completed work returned to her. The school boasts a diploma and medals, conferred at the Edinburgh Exhibition as a testimony to the excellence of its products.

While so many efforts are made to assist the struggling peasantry, the sufferings of another class are not forgotten; and Mrs. Power Lalor is the head of an organization for the sale of work executed by necessitous Irish ladies, reduced to penury by non-payment of rents and other charges on property. Plain and fancy work, art embroidery, and every form of decorative device are wrought by those who now find the leisure pastime of days of affluence their sole resource against starvation.

All these various undertakings, though charitable in their primary intention, are organized on the sound commercial principle of supplying a genuine want, and being financially self-supporting. The wholesome truth is thus recognized that a healthy growth must be supplied by natural means of subsistence, and that a spoon-fed industry will lead but a rickety and precarious existence. Neither must it be forgotten by enthusiasts for cottage manufactures, that hand-labour can only compete successfully with machinery when subsidiary to other means of support, and when made the means of profitably utilizing time which would otherwise be unproductive.

Mr. Dennis looks indeed to the homely fireside handicrafts as likely to fulfil a far higher function than their immediate one of relieving present distress. For in them alone he sees a hope of reviving the industrial habit, which has to an incredible extent died out in the country, and thus slowly rebuilding from its foundations on the lowest stratum of society the shattered fabric of national prosperity.

No inherent capability for any form of work is wanting to a nation whose sons develop such varied faculties and talents when transplanted to other shores. Irish brains supply half the

journalism of London, and Irish muscle half its manual labour; the emigrant from Galway or Clare has reclaimed the waste in Manitoba, the settler from the banks of the Suir or Shannon is the successful pioneer of sheep farming in the Republic of the River Plate. Irish statesmen have helped to build up the British Empire, and Irish soldiers are second to none on its roll of honour. The harvests of Kent are gathered by Connemara reapers, the hulls on the Clyde grow into shape beneath hammer blows dealt by the sturdy arms of Ulstermen.

But in this very drain on her population probably lies the secret of the industrial atrophy of Ireland. She exports all her best raw material in humanity as well as in other produce, and suffers from the absenteeism of talent as well as of property. The Irish emigrant, moreover, rarely returns, like those of other nations, to enjoy his improved fortunes in his native country, but seeks rather to transport his whole kith and kin to the happier land beyond the sea. It is a common experience in the Apennines of Tuscany and Lucca, to be saluted in English by a mountaineer, who, having spent a score or so of years in America, has returned to invest his savings in the purchase of a farm among the hills where he was born. This practical proof of patriotism is rarely given by Irishmen, and thus the soil does not share in the prosperity of its sons. The country languishes in proportion as the race thrives, and the new and more flourishing Irelands in Canada, in Australasia, and in the United States, must be regarded as at once the cause and compensation of the old Ireland's depletion and decline. The expenditure of so much energy abroad leaves her without sufficient vitality to struggle against the keen commercial competition of the modern world. Swamped with foreign goods, crippled by exorbitant rates of inland carriage, deprived, on free trade principles, of the protection required for her agricultural produce, it is no wonder if, with her reproductive energies thus spent in colonization, she flags in the race in which the commercial organization of centuries barely enables England to hold her own. And, since the working of economic laws is as independent of human control as that of the forces of the universe, it is in seconding, not opposing, them that their results may be corrected. Thus a remedy for Irish depression must be sought on the lines indicated in the pages from which we have quoted so largely, by fostering instead of forcing, and developing rather than striving to create.

E. M. CLERKE

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE
BISHOPS OF BRAZIL.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Episcopis Brasiliae

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

IN plurimis maximisque pietatis significationibus, quas universae fere gentes, ad gratulandum Nobis annum quinquagesimum sacerdotii feliciter plenum, exhibuerunt quotidieque exhibent, una quaedam singulariter movit, a Brasilia profecta, quod nimirum, ob eius eventus faustitatem, libero sint iure donati non pauci ex iis, qui per latissimos istius imperii fines sub iugo ingemunt servitutis.—Tale quidem opus, christianae plenum misericordiae, curantibus cum clero viris matronisque beneficis, auctori Deo et largitori bonorum omnium oblatum est, tamquam gratiarum testimonium de aucto tam benigne Nobis munere aetatis et incolumitatis.—Nobis autem fuit acceptum in primis et iucundum, eo vel magis, quod in hac Nos pergrata opinione confirmabat, omnino velle Brasilianos servitutis immanitatem tolli penitusque extirpari. Cui quidem voluntati populari obsecundatum est eximio studio ab Imperatore pariter et a Filia augusta, itemque ab eis qui rei publicae praesunt, certis quoque legibus in id latis et sancitis. Quantum Nobis haec res afferret solatii, nominatim, superiore mense Ianuario, augusti Imperatoris apud Nos Legato declaravimus: hoc amplius adiuncto, Nosmetipsos ad Episcopos Brasiliae, miserorum servorum caussâ, litteras daturos.*

Nos quidem ad omnes homines vice fungimur Christi, Filii Dei, qui humanum genus amore tanto complexus est, ut non modo non recusarit, naturâ nostra suscepta, versari nobiscum, sed et nomen adamarit Filii hominis, palam testatus, se ad consuetudinem nostram propterea accessisse ut praedicaret captivis remissionem,† atque a pessima, quae peccati est, servitute humano genere vindicato, omnia quae in caelis et quae in terra sunt in se instauraret,‡ itemque universam Adami progeniem ex alta communis noxae ruina in gradum pristinum dignitatis restitueret. Aptissime ad rem S. Gregorius Magnus: *Quum Redemptor noster totius conditor creaturae, ad hoc propitiatus humanam voluerit carnem assumere, ut divinitatis suae gratia, disrupto, quo tenebamur captivi, vinculo servitutis, pristinae nos restitueret libertati, salubriter agitur, si homines quos ab initio natura liberos protulit, et ius gentium iugo substituit servitutis, in ea qua nati fuerant, manumittentis*

* "A l'occasion de Notre Jubilé, . . . Nous désirons donner au Brésil un témoignage tout particulier de Notre paternelle affection, au sujet de l'émancipation des esclaves." (*Réponse à l'Adresse du Ministre du Brésil de Souza Correa.*)—† Is. lxi. 1: Luc. iv. 19.—‡ Ephes. i. 10.

beneficio, libertate reddantur.—Addecet igitur, et est plane muneris Apostolici, ea omnia foveri a Nobis impensique provehi, unde homines tum singuli tum iure sociati habere queant praesidia ad multiplices misérias levandas, quae, tamquam corruptae arboris fructus, ex culpa primi parentis profluxere: ea quippe praesidia, quocumque in genere sunt, non modo ad cultum et ut humanitatem valde possunt, sed etiam apte conducunt ad eam rerum ex integro renovationem, quam Redemptor hominum Iesus Christus spectavit et voluit.*

Iamvero tot inter misérias, graviter deplorandum videtur de servitute, cui pars non exigua humanae familiae abhinc multis saeculis est obnoxia, in squalore iacens et sordibus, idque omnino contra quam a Deo et natura erat primitus institutum.—Sic enim ille rerum conditor summus decreverat, ut homo in bestiis et agrestibus et natantibus et volucris regum quemdam dominatum teneret, non item ut in similes sui homines dominaretur: *Rationalem factum, ex Augustini sententia, ad imaginem suam, noluit nisi irrationalibus obediri: non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori.†* Quo fit ut conditio servitutis iure intelligatur imposita peccatori. Proinde nusquam Scripturarum legimus servum, antequam hoc vocabulo Noe iustus peccatum filii vindicaret. *Nomen itaque istud culpa meruit, non natura.‡*

Ex primi contagione peccati et cetera mala omnia et ista erupit monstruosa perversitas, ut homines fuerint, qui, memoriâ fraternae ab origine coniunctionis reiecta, non iam duce natura mutuam inter se benevolentiam mutuamque observantium colerent, sed cupiditatibus obdientes suis, homines alios infra se putare coeperint, et perinde habere ac nata iugo iumenta. Hoc modo, nulla ratione habitaneque communis naturae, neque dignitatis humanae, neque divinae expressae similitudinis, consecutum est ut, per certationes et bella quae deinde exarserunt, qui vi existerent superiores, ii victos sibi subiicerent, atque ita multitudo eiusdem generis individua sensim in duas abscesserit partes, sub victoribus dominis victa mancipia.—Cuius rei luctuosum quasi theatrum memoria priscorum temporum explicat, ad tempora usque Domini Servatoris, quum calamitas servitutis populos omnes late pervaserat, rarioque erat numerus ingenuorum, ut Caesarem poeta ille atrociter dicentem induxerit; *Humanum paucis vivit genus.§* Idque apud eas etiam nationes vigit, quae omni cultu expolitae eminebant, apud Graecos, apud Romanos, quum paucorum dominatio esset in plurimos; eaque cum improbitate et superbia tanta exercebatur, ut servorum turbae nihil supra censerentur quam bona, non personae sed res, omnis expertes iuris, ipsa adempta facultate retinendae fruendaeque vitae. *In potestate dominorum sunt servi, quae quidem potestas iuris gentium est: nam apud omnes peraeque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitae necisque potestatem esse, et quodcumque per servum acquiratur, id dominis acquiritur.¶*—Ex hac rerum perturbatione licuit dominis servos permutare, venumdare, hereditate tradere, caedere, morti dare, iisque abuti ad licentiam diramque superstitionem: im-

* Lib. vi. ep. 12.—† Gen. i. 26.—‡ Gen. i. 25, Noe c. xxx.—§ Lucan. Phars. v., 343.—¶ Iustinian. Inst., l. i., tit. 8, n. 1.

pune et in luce licuit.—Quin etiam ethnicorum qui prudentissimi ferebantur, philosophi insignes, consultissimi iuris, hoc sibi aliisque, per summam communis iudicii iniuriam, suadere conati sunt, esse servitutem nihil aliud quam necessariam naturae conditionem; nec enim sunt veriti profiteri, quia servorum genus generi liberorum longe multumque et virtute intelligendi et praestantia corporum cederet, oportere idcirco, servos, veluti carentia ratione et consilio instrumenta, dominorum usquequaque voluntatibus temere indigneque servire. Eiusmodi detestanda maxime tum inhumanitas tum iniquitas; qua semel accepta, nulla iam sit oppressio hominum barbara et nefanda, quae non sese in legis quadam iurisve specie impudentissime tueatur.—Inde vero quale flagitorium seminarium, quae pestis et perniciēs in civitates manarit, exemplorum pleni sunt libri: in animis servorum exacui odia, teneri dominos suspicione metuque perpetuo; alios ad explendas iras parare faces, cervicibus alios instare crudelius; aliorum numero aliorum vi civitates commoveri, levi momento dissolvi: tumultus et seditiones, direptiones et incendia, proelia caedesque misceri.

In eo deiectionis profundo mortalium plurimi laborabant, multoque miserius ut mersi erant superstitionum caligine; quum, maturis divino consilio temporibus, lux e caelo admirabilis oborta est, et gratia redimentis Christi ad hominum universitatem se copiose profudit; cuius beneficio illi erecti sunt e caeno et aerumna servitutis, omnesque omnino a deterrimo peccati servitio ad praestantissimam dignitatem filiorum Dei sunt revocati et adducti.—Apostoli enimvero, inde ab initio Ecclesiae, praeter alia praecepta vitae sanctissima, hoc etiam tradidere et inculcavere, quod est non semel scriptum a Paulo ad renatos et lavacro Baptismatis: *Omnes filii Dei estis per fidem, quae est in Christo Iesu: quicumque enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis. Non est Iudaeus neque Graecus, non est servus neque liber, non est masculus neque femina; omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu.* Non est Gentilis et Iudaeus, circumcisio et praeputium, barbarus et Scythia, servus et liber; sed omnia et in omnibus Christus.† Etenim in uno Spiritu omnes nos in unum corpus baptizati sumus, sive Iudaei sive Gentiles, sive servi sive liberi, et omnes in uno Spiritu potati sumus.‡*—Aurea sane, honestissima, saluberrima documenta, quorum efficacitate non modo hominum generi decus redditur suum atque augeatur, sed etiam, cuiuscumque ipsi sunt loci vel linguae vel gradus, inter se consociantur et vinculis fraternae necessitudinis arctissime continentur. Ea vere beatissimus Paulus, qua Christi urgebatur caritate, ex ipso Eius corde hauserat, qui se fratrem singulis cunctisque hominibus perbenigne dedit, quique de se omnes, ne uno quidem dempto aut posthabito, ita nobilitavit ut consortes adscisceret naturae divinae. Ea ipsa non secus fuere ac divinitus insertae propagines quae mirum in modum provenientes effluerunt ad spem felicitatemque publicam: quum, decursu rerum et temporum, perseverante opera Ecclesiae, societas civitatum ad similitudinem familiae renovata coaluerit, christiana et libera.

Principio enim solertissima cura Ecclesiae in eo versata est, ut

* Gal. iii. 26-28. † Coloss. iii. 11. ‡ i. Cor. xii. 13.

populus christianus de hac etiam magni ponderis re sinceram Christi et Apostolorum doctrinam acciperet probeque teneret. Iam nunc per Adamum novum, qui est Christus, communionem fraternam et hominis cum homine et gentis cum gente intercedere: ipsis, sicut unam eandemque, intra naturae fines, originem, sic, supra naturam, originem unam eandemque esse salutis et fidei: omnes aequabiliter in adoptionem unius Dei et Patris accitos, quippe quos eodem ipse pretio magno una redemerit: eiusdem corporis membra omnes, omnesque eiusdem participes mensae divinae: omnibus gratiae munera, omnibus item munera vitae immortalis patere.—Hisce positis, tamquam initiis et fundamentis, contendit Ecclesia ut servilis vitae oneribus et ignominiae mitigationem aliquam bona mater afferret; eius rei causâ iura atque officia dominos inter servosque necessaria, prout affirmata sunt in Apostolorum epistolis, definivit valideque commendavit.—Apostolorum enim Principes ita servos quos adiunxerant Christo commonebant: *Subditi estote in omni timore, non tantum bonis et modestis, sed etiam dyscolis.* Obedite dominis carnalibus cum timore et tremore, in simplicitate cordis vestri, sicut Christo; non ad oculum servientes, quasi hominibus placentes, sed ut servi Christi, facientes voluntatem Dei ex animo, cum bona voluntate servientes; sicut Domino, et non hominibus; scientes quoniam unusquisque quodcumque fecerit bonum, hoc recipiet a Domino, sive servus sive liber.† Idem Paulus Timotheo suo: Quicumque sunt sub iugo servi, dominos suos omni honore dignos arbitrentur; qui autem fideles habent dominos, non contemnunt, quia fratres sunt, sed magis servant, quia fideles sunt et dilecti, qui beneficii participes sunt. Haec doce et exhortare.‡ Tito pariter mandavit, doceret servos dominis suis subditos esse, in omnibus placentes, non contradicentes, non fraudantes, sed in omnibus fidem bonam ostendentes, ut doctrinam Salvatoris nostri Dei ornent in omnibus.§—Illi vero fidei christianae prisci discipuli optime intellexerunt, ex tali hominum fraterna in Christo aequalitate nihil admodum de obsequio, de honore, de fidelitate, de ceteris officiis, quibus ad dominos tenerentur, neque minui neque remitti; inde autem non unum consequi bonum, ut eadem nimirum officia et certiora essent, et leviora fierent atque suavia ad exercendum, et fructuosiora ad gloriam promerendam caelestem. Sic enim dominis reverentiam et honorem habebant tamquam iis hominibus qui auctoritate Dei, a quo omnis potestas derivatur, pollerent; non apud ipsos poenarum metus aut consiliorum astutia et incitamenta utilitatum valebant, sed conscientia officii, vis caritatis. Viciissim ad dominos iusta ab Apostolo spectabat cohortatio, ut bene factis servorum gratiam ipsi bonam rependerent: *Et, vos, domini, eadem facite illis, remittentes minas; scientes quia et illorum et vester Dominus est in caelis, et personarum acceptio non est apud eum: || considerarent, sicut servo haud aequum sortem dolere suam, quum libertus sit Domini, neque item homini libero, quum Christi sit servus, ¶ licere usquam spiritus tollere super-**

* 1 Petr. ii. 18.

§ Tit. ii. 9, 10.

† Eph. vi. 5-8.

|| Ephes. vi. 9.

‡ 1 Tim. vi. 1-2.

¶ 1 Cor. vii. 22.

beque imperare. In quo erat dominis praeceptum, ut suis ipsi in servis hominem agnoscerent convenienterque colerent, neque alios a se natura, et secum pares religione conservosque ad communis Domini maiestatem.—Istis tam rectis legibus, maximeque factis ad partes conformandas societatis domesticae, re ipsa paruerunt Apostoli. Insigne Pauli exemplum, ut fecit ille scripsitque benevole pro Onesimo, servo Philemonis fugitivo: quem ad eum remittit hac peramanti commendatione: *Tu autem illum ut mea viscera suscipe . . . iam non ut servum, sed pro servo carissimum fratrem et in carne et in Domino; si autem aliquid nocuit tibi aut debet, hoc mihi imputa.**

Utramque agendi rationem in servos, ethnicam et christianam, qui conferre velit, facile dabit, fuisse alteram inclementem et flagitiosam, alteram mitissimam plenamque honestatis, neque erit commissurus, ut Ecclesiam, tantae indulgentiae ministram, merita laude fraudare videatur.—Id eo vel magis, quum quis diligenter advertat qua Ecclesia lenitate et prudentia foedissimam servitutis pestem exsecuit depulsi. —Illa enim ad manumissionem libertatemque curandam servorum noluit properare, quod, nisi tumultuose et cum suo ipsorum damno reique publicae detrimento fieri profecto non poterat; sed praecipuo consilio prospexit ut animi servorum in disciplina sua erudirentur ad veritatem christianam, et consentaneos mores cum baptismo induerent. Quamobrem, in servorum multitudine quos sibi filios adnumerabat, si qui, spe aliqua illecti libertatis, vim et seditionem essent moliti, ea vitiosa studia improbavit semper Ecclesia et compressit, adhibuitque per suos ministros remedia patientiae. Haberent scilicet persuasum, se quidem, propter sanctae fidei lumen atque insigne a Christo acceptum, ethnicis dominis multum dignitate antecellere, ab ipso tamen fidei Auctore et Parente religiosius adstringi, ne quid adversus eos in se admitterent, neu minimum a reverentia eis debita et obediencia discederent; se autem quum nossent regno Dei adlectos, libertate filiorum eius potitos, ad bona non peritura vocatos, laborare ne vellent de abiectioe incommodisque vitae caducae, sed oculis animisque ad caelum sublatis, se ipsi consolarentur sanctoque in proposito confirmarent. Servos in primis allocutus est Petrus Apostolus quum scripsit: *Haec est gratia, si propter Dei conscientiam sustinet quis tristitias, patiens iniuste. In hoc enim vocati estis, quia et Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia eius.†* Laus tanta sollicitudinis cum moderatione coniunctae, quae divinam Ecclesiae virtutem praeclarius exornat, augetur etiam a fortitudine animi supra quam credibile sit invicta et excelsa, quam bene multis de servis infimis potuit ipsa indere et sustinere. Permira res, qui dominis suis erant in exemplum morigeri eorumque gratiâ omnium erant laborum patientissimi, nullo ipsos pacto potuisse adduci, ut dominorum iniqua mandata mandatis Domini sanctis anteferrerent, atque adeo vitam acerbissimis cruciatibus, securis animis, securo vultu obiecisse. Nomen *Potamianae* virginis ad memoriam invictae constantiae ab Eusebio celebratur; quae scilicet potius quam impudici

* Ad Phil. 12-18.

† 1 Petr. ii. 19-21.

heri indulgeret libidini, mortem non timida oppetiit, et profuso sanguine fidem Iesu Christo servavit. Similia admirari licet servorum exempla, qui, dominis libertatem sibi animorum, fidemque Deo obligatam oppugnantibus, firmissime ad necem repugnaverunt: qui vero, christiani servi, aliis de causis restiterint dominis, vel coniurationes turbasve civitatibus exitiosas concitarint, historia prodidit nullos.

Pacatis exinde rebus quietisque Ecclesiae temporibus, apostolica documenta de fraterna inter Christianos coniunctione animorum sancti Patres admirabili exposuere sapientia, et caritate pari ad servorum utilitatem transtulerunt, hoc enisi convincere, ut iura quidem dominis in operis servorum ex honesto constarent, nequaquam vero liceret imperiosa illa potestas in capita et immanis saevitia. In Graecis praestat Chrysostomus, qui habet hunc locum saepe tractatum, quique perlaeto animo et lingua affirmavit, servitutem, ad veterem verbi notionem, iam per id tempus, magno christianae fidei beneficio esse sublatam, ut sine re nomen inter Domini discipulos et videretur et esset. Etenim Christus (sic ille summam disputat), quum culpam origine contractam summa in nos miseratione deterisit, sanavit idem consecutam multiplicem ad ordines societatis humanae corruptionem; proptereaque, quemadmodum mors per ipsum, terroribus positus, placida est ad beatam vitam migratio, ita sublatam esse servitutem. Christianum hominem, nisi rursus peccatis serviat, servum ne dixeris; fratres omnino, quotquot sunt in Christo Iesu renati et suscepti: a nova ista procreatione atque in Dei familiam cooptatione, non a claritate generis, ornamenta proficisci; a veritatis, non a sanguinis laude dignitatem parari; quo vero species ipsa evangelicae *fraternitatis* ampliorem habeat fructum, opus admodum esse, vel in externa vitae consuetudine, vicissitudinem quandam elucere studiorum et officiorum libentissimam, ita ut servi eodem ferme loco ducantur quo domestici et familiares, iisque a patrefamilias non solum ea suppetant quae sunt vitae victusque, sed omnia etiam religiosae institutionis praesidia. E singulari denique salutatione Pauli ad Philemonem, gratiam adprecantis et pacem *Ecclesiae quae in domo tua est*,* documentum aequè dominis servisque christianis optime haberi statutum, quos inter communio sit fidei, inter eos communionem esse debere caritatis.†—De Latinis merito et iure commemoramus Ambrosium; qui tam studiose in eadem causa omnes necessitudinum rationes est persecutus, tamque definite ad christianas leges utrique hominum generi propria attribuit, nemo ut aptius fecerit: cuius sententiae nihil attinet dicere quam plene cum sententiis Chrysostomi perfectaeque conveniant.‡

Erant haec rectissime, ut patet, utiliterque praescripta; sed et iam, quod caput est, integre sancteque a priscis temporibus sunt custodita ubicumque floruit christiana professio.—Quod nisi esset, non ita Lactantius, defensor ille religionis eximius, confidenter quasi testis

* Ad Phil. v. 2.

† Hom. xxix. in Gen., or. in Lazar., Hom. xix. in ep. i. ad Cor., Hom. i. in ep. ad Phil.

‡ De Abr. de Iacob, et vita beata c. iii., de Patr. Ioseph. c. iv., Exhort. virg. c. i.

instaret: *Dicet aliquis: Nonne sunt apud vos alii pauperes, alii divites, alii servi, alii domini? Nonne aliquid inter singulos interest? Nihil: nec alia causa est cur nobis invicem fratrum nomen impertiamur, nisi quia pares esse nos credimus; nam quum omnia humana, non corpore sed spiritu metiamus, tametsi corporum sit diversa conditio, nobis tamen servi non sunt, sed eos et habemus et dicimus spiritu fratres, religione conservos.**

Procedebant Ecclesiae curae in patrocinio servorum, et, nulla missa opportunitate, eo usque caute pertinebant, si tandem ii possent in libertatem dari: quod profuturum valde erat ad salutem etiam sempiternam.—Bene respondisse eventus, annales sacrae antiquitatis afferunt testimonia. Nobiles ipsae matronae, Hieronymi laudibus spectatissimae, huic rei iuvandae singularem operam contulerunt: referente autem Salviano, in christianis familiis, iisque non ita locupletibus, fiebat saepenumero, ut servi manumissione munifica liberi abirent. Quin etiam eo praeclarius specimen caritatis S. Clemens multo ante laudavit; quemadmodum Christiani nonnulli sese servituti, conversis personis, subiecerint, quod servos quosdam alio pacto liberare nequissent.† Quare, praeter quam quod servorum manumissio in templis haberi, item ut actio pietatis, coepta est, eam Ecclesia instituit christifidelibus testamenta facientibus commendare, tamquam opus pergratum Deo magne apud ipsum meriti et praemii: ex quo illa manumissionis heredi mandandae concepta verba *pro amore Dei, pro remedio vel mercede animae meae*. Neque rei ulli, in pretium captivorum, temperatum est: donata Deo bona, divendita; aurum et argentum sacrum, conflata; basilicarum ornamenta et donaria, alienata: id quod Ambrosius, Augustinus, Hilarius, Eligius, Patritius, alii multi et sanctissimi viri fecerunt non semel.—Vel maxime fecerunt pro servis Pontifices romani, illi vere in omni memoria et infirmiorum tutores et vindices oppressorum. S. Gregorius M. quam plurimos potuit ipse in libertatem asseruit, et in concilio romano an. DXCVII iis libertatem concessam voluit qui monasticam vitam agere constituissent: posse servos, in vitis dominis, matrimonia libere inire Hadrianus I defendit: ab Alexandro III, an. MCLXVII, apertissime edictum est mauro Valentiae regi, ne quem christianum hominem servitio addiceret, quod nemo natura servus, a Deo liberi omnes facti. Innocentius autem III, an. MCCII, Ordinem Sanctissimae Trinitatis Christianis redimendis qui Turcarum in potestatem incidissent, rogatu auctorum, Ioannis a Matha, Felicis Valesii, probatum ratumque habuit. Similem huic Ordinem Mariae sanctae a Mercede Honorius III posteaque Gregorius IX rite probavere: quem Petrus Nolascus ea ardua lege condiderat ut religiosi illi homines se ipsi pro Christianis in tyrannide captivis captivos devoverent, opus si esset ad redimendos. Idem Gregorius magis amplum libertatis subsidium decrevit, ut Ecclesiae servos nefas esset permutari: idem exhortationem ad Christifideles addidit, ut pro admissorum poenis servos suos Deo Sanctisque piaculi causâ donarent.—Accedunt multa in hac re benefacta Ecclesiae. Ipsa etenim servos ab asperis dominorum iris damnosisque iniuriis, adhibitâ severitate poen-

* Divin. Instit. i. v., c. 16.

† 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 55.

arum, defendere consuevit; quos violenta manus vexaret, iis perfugia pandere aedes sacras; manumissos accipere in fidem, atque eos animadversione continere, qui ausi malis artibus liberum hominem in servitutem redigere. Eo ipsa propensius libertati favit servorum, quos quoquo modo, pro temporibus locisque, haberet suos; vel quum statuit ut omni servitutis vinculo ab episcopis solverentur, qui se laudabili vitae honestate aliquamdiu probassent, vel quum episcopis facile permisit, ut sibi addictos suprema voluntate liberos dicerent. Dandum item miserationi et virtuti Ecclesiae, quod servis remissum aliquid sit de gravitate legis civilis, quoad est impetratum, ut proposita Gregorii Magni temperamenta, in scriptum ius civitatum recepta, valerent: id autem factum, Carolo Magno praesertim agente, qui ea in *Capitularia* sua, quemadmodum postea Gratianus in *Decretum*, induxit. Monumenta denique, leges, instituta, continuo aetatum ordine, docent et declarant magnifice summam Ecclesiae caritatem in servos, quorum conditionem afflictam nullo tempore vacuam tutela reliquit, omni semper ope allevavit.—Itaque Ecclesiae catholicae, amplexissimo Christi Redemptoris beneficio, expultrici servitutis, veraeque inter homines libertatis, fraternitatis, aequalitatis effectrici, satis numquam, proinde ac de prosperitate gentium merita est, haberi potest vel laudis vel gratiae.

Saeculo inclinante quinto decimo, quo tempore, funesta servitutis labe apud gentes christianas prope deleta, sese civitates in libertate evangelica stabilire atque etiam latius proferre imperium studebant, haec Apostolica Sedes diligentissime cavet, necubi mala eiusdem pravitatis germina reviviscerent. Ad regiones igitur nove repertas Africae, Asiae, Americae, vigilem providentiam intendit: fama enim manaverat, earum duces expeditionum, homines christianos, armis ingenioque minus recte uti, ad struendam imponendamque innoxiiis nationibus servitutem. Cruda scilicet natura soli, quod erat subigendum, neque minus metallorum opes explorandae, effodiendae, quum operas bene validas postulerent, iniusta plane suscepta sunt atque inhumana consilia. Fieri enim coepta est quaedam mercatura, servis ad id opus ex Aethiopia deportandis, quae, nominata deinceps *la tratta dei Negri*, nimium quantum eas occupavit colonias. Secuta quoque est, non absimili iniuria, indigenarum hominum (qui universe *Indi* appellati) ad modum servitutis oppressio. His de rebus ubi Pius II certior est factus, morâ nulla interposita, die VII oct. an. MCCCCLXII, epistolam dedit ad episcopum Rubicensem, qua tantam improbitatem redarguit et damnavit. Aliquo post tempore, Leo V quantum potuit officiorum et auctoritatis apud reges et Lusitaniae et Hispaniarum adhibuit, qui eam licentiam, religioni pariter atque humanitati iustitiaeque probrosam, radicitus excidendam curarent. Nihil minus ea calamitas confirmata haerebat, manente impura causa, inexplebili habendi cupiditate. Tum Paulus III, de conditione Indorum servorumque maurorum paterna caritate anxius, ad hoc venit extremum consilium, ut solemni decreto, in luce quasi conspectuque omnium gentium, pronuntiaret: triplicis modi potestatem illis deberi universis iustam et propriam; posse nimirum sui quemque esse iuris, posse

consociatos suis legibus vivere, posse rem sibi facere et habere. Hoc amplius, litteris missis ad Card. Archiepiscopum Toletanum, qui fecissent contra idem decretum, in eos statuit interdictionem sacrorum, integra romano Pontifici reconciliandi facultate.* Eâdem providentia eâdemque constantia, Indis atque Mauris, iisque vel nondum christiana fide instructis, alii subinde Pontifices sese assertores libertatis acerrimos praestitere, Urbanus VIII, Benedictus XIV, Pius VII; qui praeterea in principum Europae foederatorum Vindobonensi conventu, communia consilia huc etiam advertit, ut ea Nigritarum distractio, quam diximus, multis iam desueta locis, funditus convelleretur. Etiam Gregorius XVI negligentes humanitatis et legum gravissime admonuit, idemque Apostolicae Sedis decreta statutasque poenas revocavit, et rationem nullam praetermisit ut externae quoque nationes, europaearum secutae mansuetudinem, a dedecore et feritate servitutis abstinerent, abhorrent.† Opportunissime vero Nobis accidit, ut suâ summos principes rerumque publicarum moderatores gratulatione prosequamur, quibus perseveranter instantibus, querimoniis diuturnis aequissimisque naturae et religionis iam satis est factum.

In re tamen persimili residet Nobis in animo alia quaedam cura quae non mediocriter angit, et Nostram urget sollicitudinem. Quippe tam turpis hominum mercatura ea quidem mari fieri desiit, terrâ vero nimis multum nimisque barbâre exercetur; idque maxime in nonnullis Africae partibus. Hoc enim perverse a Mahometanis posito, hominem Aethiopem adsimilisve nationis vix aliquo numero supra esse belluam, videre licet et horrere perfidiam hominum atque immanitatem. Ex improvise in Aethiopum tribus, tale nihil metuentes, more irruunt impetuque praedonum; in pagos, in villas, in mapalia incursant, omnia vastant, populantur, diripiunt; viros perinde et feminas et pueros, facile captos vinctosque abducunt, ut per vim ad nundinas trahant flagitiosissimas. Ex Aegypto, ex Zanzibar, partim quoque ex Sudan, quasi e stationibus, illae detestabiles expeditiones deduci solent; per longa itinera pergere viri constricti catenis, tenuissimo victu, sub crebra verberum caede; ad haec ferenda imbecilliores necari; qui satis salvi, gregatim cum reliqua turba ire venum, atque emptori prostare moroso et impudenti. Cui vero quisque venditus et permissus sit, discidio miserabili qua uxorum, qua liberorum, qua parentum, illius in potestate ad servitutem adigitur maxime duram et fere nefandam, neque ipsa recusare potest sacra Mahometi. Haec Nos, summa animi aegritudine, a quibusdam non ita ante accepimus, qui coram nec sine lacrimis eiusmodi infamiam et deformitatem spectaverunt: cum iis autem plane cohaerent qua a nuperis Africae aequinoctialis exploratoribus sunt narrata. Quin etiam istorum ex testimonio et fide compertum apparet ad quater centena millia sic homines afros vendi solitos, pecorum instar, quotannis; quorum dimidiam circiter partem de viis asperimis languidos concidere ibique interire; ut, sane ad dicendum quam triste, velut factam ex residuis ossibus semitam ea loca peragrantes discipiant.—

* *Veritas ipsa*, 2 Ian. 1559.

† *In supremo Apostolatus fastigio*, 3 Dec. 1837.

Quis non tantarum miseriarum cogitatione moveatur? Nos equidem qui personam gerimus Christi, amantissimi omnium gentium Hospitatoris et Redemptoris, quique adeo laetamur de plurimis gloriosisque Ecclesiae promeritis in omne genus aerumnosos, vix possumus eloqui quanta miseratione erga illas afficimur infelicissimas gentes, quanta caritatis amplitudine ad eas pandimus brachia, quam vehementur cupimus omnia ipsis posse allevamenta et subsidia impertire, eo proposito ut, simul cum servitute hominum, servitute superstitionis excussa, uni veroque Deo, sub Christi suavissimo iugo, possint tandem servire, divinae hereditatis nobiscum participes. Utinam omnes, quicumque imperio et potestate antecedunt, vel iura gentium et humanitatis sancta esse volunt, vel religionis catholicae incrementis ex animo student, ubique omnes, hortantibus rogantibus Nobis, ad eiusmodi mercaturam, qua nulla inhonesta magis et scelerata, comprimendam, prohibendam, extinguendam enixe conspirent.—Interea, dum acriore ingeniorum et operum cursu nova itinera ad africanas terras, nova commercia instruuntur, contendant viri apostolici, ut, quoad melius fieri possit, sit salutis servorum libertatique consultum. Huc ipsi alio praesidio nullo reapse proficient, nisi, divina gratia roborati, toti sint in disseminanda fide nostra sanctissima eaque laboriosius in dies alenda; cuius est fructus insignis ut libertatem mire conciliet ac pariat *qua Christus non liberavit*.^{*} Itaque, tamquam in speculum virtutis apostolicae, inspiciant monemus in vitam et facta *Petri Claver*, cui recentem gloriae lauream addidimus: in eum inspiciant, qui summâ laborum constantiâ, annos continenter quadraginta, maurorum gregibus servorum miserrimis sese totum impendit, vere ipsorum Apostolus praedicandus, quibus se perpetuum servum et profitebatur et dabat. Caritatem viri, patientiam si curae habeant sumere sibi et referre, ii profecto digni existent administri salutis, auctores consolationis, nuntii pacis, qui solitudinem, incultum, feritatem, in ubertatem possint religionis cultusque laetissimam, Dio iuvante, convertere.

Iamque in vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, cogitatio et litterae Nostrae gestiunt conquirere, ut vobis iterum significemus iterumque vobiscum sociemus singulare quod capimus gaudium, ob ea quae isto in Imperio publice inita sunt de servitute consilia. Siquidem per leges quum provisum cautumque sit, ut, quotquot sunt adhuc de conditione servili, in ordinem et iura liberorum debeant admitti, id Nobis ut bonum et faustum et salutare per se videtur, sic etiam spem firmat fovetque ad auctus rei civilis reique sacrae in futurum laetandos. Ita Brasiliici nomen Imperii apud humanissimas quasque gentes erit merito in commemoratione et in laudibus, nomenque simul florebit Imperatoris augusti; cuius ea fertur praeclara vox, nihil se habere optatius, quam ut omne in finibus suis servitutis vestigium celeriter deleatur.—At vero, dum ea ipsa legum iussa perficiuntur, incumbite alacres, omni ope rogamus, et operam providentissime date praesenti rei, quam difficultates impediunt profecto non leves. Omnino per

* Galat. iv. 31.

vos efficiendum, ut domini et servi optimis inter se animis congruant optimaque fide, neu quidquam de clementia aut de iustitia decedant, sed, quaecumque transigenda sunt, omnia legitime, seclate, christiano modo transigant: quod enim exoptabant omnes, tolli et deleri servitutem, hoc prospere cedit optandum maxime est, nullo divini vel humani iuris incommodo, nulla civitatis perturbatione, atque adeo cum solida ipsorum, quorum agitur causa, utilitate servorum.— Quibus singulatim, sive qui iam facti liberi sunt, sive qui fient propediem, monita nonnulla salutis, e sententiis delibata magni gentium Apostoli, pastoralis cum studio animoque paterno commendamus. Ergo illi memoriam et voluntatem gratam pie ad eos servare diligenterque profiteri studeant, quorum consilio operaque in libertatem vindicati sunt. Tanto se munere numquam praebeant indignos, nec umquam libertatem cum licentia cupiditatum permisceant: eâ vero utantur quo modo cives decet bene moratos, ad industriam vitae actuosae, ad commoda et ornamenta quum familiae tum civitatis. Vereri et colere maiestatem principum, parere magistratibus, legibus obtemperare, haec officia et similia, non tam metu adducti quam religione, assidue exsequantur: etiam cohibeant arceantque alienae copiae et praestantiae invidiam, quae dolendum quam multos ex tenuioribus quotidie torqueat et quam multa ministret nequitiae plena instrumenta adversus ordinum securitatem et pacem. Re sua et statu contenti, nihil carius cogitent, nihil appetant cupidius quam bona regni caelestis, quorum gratiâ in lucem editi sunt et a Christo redempti: de Deo eodemque Domino ac Liberatore suo cum pietate sentiant, eum totis viribus diligant, eius mandata omni cura custodiant. Sponsae eius, Ecclesiae sanctae, se filios esse gaudeant, esse optimos laborent, et quam possint amoris vicem sedulo reddant.

Haec eadem documenta vos item, Venerabiles Fratres, ipsis suadere et persuadere libertis insistite; ut, quod summum est Nobis votum idemque vobis bonisque omnibus esse debet, partae libertatis fructus religio in primis, quacumque istud patet Imperium, amplissimos habeat, ad perpetuitatem persentiat.

Id autem quo succedat felicius, cumulatissimam a Deo gratiam opemque maternam Immaculae Virginis imploramus et exposcimus. Caelestium munerum auspicem paternaeque Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque universo Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die V Maii An. MDCCCLXXXVIII.
Pontificatus Nostri Undecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

Celestial Photography.—The great international work of photographically charting the entire heavens will be begun next year at fifteen or sixteen observatories. Most of the civilized peoples of the earth will take part in it. France has led the way in promoting the scheme, and will co-operate in its execution at Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Algiers. Spain has appointed a charting-station at San Fernando, Mexico will help at Tacubaya, Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, Chili at Santiago, the Argentine Republic, already famous for its astronomical enterprise, at La Plata. Austria and Australia will besides almost certainly contribute their respective quotas from Vienna and Sydney. Our own Government has found it curiously difficult to make up its mind on the subject; but since it is at last announced that Parliament will be asked to vote the supplies necessary for providing both Greenwich and the Cape observatories with photographic telescopes, its hesitation is no longer worth remembering. Each will cost less than £1500, and the yearly expense of keeping it employed will amount to perhaps £200, so that the entire outlay is scarcely formidable enough to alarm the sensitive instincts of even the most apprehensive and economical Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Within four years, it is expected that the two series of plates, required for carrying out the plan adopted at the Paris Congress of April 1887, will be ready. This consists, first, in the preparation of a photographic picture of the skies embracing all stars to the fourteenth magnitude inclusive, to the estimated number of about twenty-five millions; next, in the provision of a "photographic catalogue" of some two million stars down to the eleventh magnitude. The two parts of the scheme are most intimately connected. For it is perfectly obvious that the mere delineation, in the form of an apparently countless throng of dark dots on glass negatives, of twenty-five million stars, would be utterly useless without the means of individually identifying them. And they can only be identified by the presence on each plate of several known, or catalogued stars, from which the positions of the others can be derived by accurate measurements. Hence the distinction between the "chart-plates" and the "catalogue-plates." The first series will be exposed during a quarter of an hour, the second only for a few minutes, under conditions nicely adapted to secure the utmost possible precision.

When the two series—each comprising some twenty thousand plates—have been successfully obtained, the work will enter upon a second stage, likely to be considerably more tedious than the first. To deduce a catalogue complying with all the refined exigencies of

modern astronomy, from mere impressions of the stars, is a less simple process than might be supposed by the uninitiated. Its details have lately been elaborated by Dr. Gill, the able director of the Cape Observatory, in a paper which undoubtedly marks a "new departure" in practical astronomy. He insists, above all, on the necessity of a "Central Bureau" for organizing and pushing forward the indispensable reductions, calculations, and measurements. These will occupy, according to his estimate, a quarter of a century, and will cost £10,000 a year, to be contributed, in shares equitably apportioned, by all the nations engaged in the joint undertaking.

When it is accomplished, twenty-five million stars will be really *known* to astronomers. Twenty-five million suns, large and small, will have been brought within the ken of science. Henceforward, not one among them can undergo without detection any marked change either of position or brightness. Each can be confronted, after the lapse of centuries, with documentary evidence relative to its condition in the year 1900. Nor is it only individual stellar vicissitudes, profoundly interesting though they be, that will thus be brought to light. The great problem of "how the heavens move," though beyond question insoluble in its entirety by the human intellect, may also receive a measure of elucidation. "Star-drift" on a vast scale will perhaps be rendered apparent; the procession of suns, the unfolding of spiral wreaths of suns, will begin to become sensible; dominant orbs will visibly control the movements of lesser ones in their neighbourhood; something of the obscurity which at present involves the purpose and circumstances of our own journey through space may be dissipated. Nay, the simple counting of the stars on the plates may help us to fix approximately the boundaries of the sidereal universe. For it can be determined whether the numbers of the stars continue to increase with their decreasing grades of brightness, in the same proportion as for the higher magnitudes, or whether a *thinning-out* manifests itself among the faintest and (presumably) most distant luminaries. Experimental proof may in this way not improbably be afforded as to the finite character of the visible scheme of things.

The *scale* of the stellar world seems, however, to widen continually under our scrutiny. Researches into the parallaxes of the stars attest, with growing emphasis, their enormous and inconceivable remoteness. Professor Pritchard, who led the way and at present stands alone in applying photography to this purpose, is successfully prosecuting the inquiry at Oxford. Six stars have so far been determined by him. As regards the famous pair 61 Cygni, his negatives practically confirm the visual measurements of Sir Robert Ball. They show the revolving stars, although among the very nearest to the earth, to be still so remote that light must employ seven years and seven months in travelling from them to our eyes. The pole-star is eight and a half times farther away, so that we see it in the place it occupied no less than sixty-five years ago. The swift-moving star, μ Cassiopeiæ, sends its beams to us from a yet

profounder abyss of space ; a brilliant second-magnitude star in the same constellation, discovered by Father Secchi to possess an atmosphere of vividly blazing hydrogen, proves to be immeasurably remote. Both the two brightest stars in Cassiopeia, on the other hand, are found by Professor Pritchard to lie nearer to the earth than the pole-star ; though the distance of α Cassiopeiae is nearly six times, that of β two and a third times that of δ Cygni. From the vast majority of the stars it appears probable that the transit of light hither occupies hundreds or even thousands of years. So that the picture of the heavens for the year 1900, looked for as the result of the photographic charting process soon to be set on foot in both hemispheres, will belong in reality to a multitude of different epochs, for the most part unknown, and reaching back, in some cases, to the dim prehistoric past.

The Great Southern Variable.—The announcement that η Argus is beginning to revive is of singular interest to those acquainted with the history of the star. Its exceptional nature was first brought prominently to the notice of astronomers by Sir John Herschel's observation at the Cape on December 16, 1837, of the sudden tripling of its light. It then decidedly surpassed Procyon, and continued to increase during about a fortnight, until its only superiors in the sky were Sirius and Canopus. This high level was not, however, long maintained, and η Argus had sunk to about the level of Aldebaran before the end of April 1838. In 1843, however, a still more brilliant outburst than that witnessed by Herschel was observed by Maclean, then the Royal Astronomer at the Cape. After some curious preparatory "flutterings," it reached its highest known maximum in April of that year, when it nearly equalled Sirius. Until the end of 1844, it remained generally brighter than Canopus, but, with the beginning of 1845, a definitive decline set in, which proceeded, nevertheless, at so leisurely a rate that in 1856 the lustre of the star still rivalled that of α Centauri. It touched, however, the limit of naked-eye visibility in 1868, and has ever since remained below it.

Now it appears, from Mr. Tebbutt's observations at New South Wales, that the ebb of light in this extraordinary object has at length run out, and that the flow of the luminous tide has set in. There seems no doubt that the star gained half a magnitude between April 1887 and May 1888, and that its rays, though still of a ruddy tint, have put off a certain dulness, suggestive of semi-extinction, and assumed a more sparkling and vivacious character than they have shown for many years. A rapid upward movement is hence believed to be at hand, culminating, perhaps, in a blaze no less vivid than that of forty-five years ago.

The changes of this star are nothing new ; we have clear evidence that they have been in progress during at least two centuries. The first extant observation was made by Halley at St. Helena in 1677, when η Argus was of the fourth magnitude, while about ten years later, at Macao, Father Noel, a Jesuit missionary, noted it unus-

pectingly as of the second. Nor had it, although it may have undergone many intermediate vicissitudes of which we know nothing, fallen off from that standard when Lacaita visited the Cape in 1751. Early in the present century, however, its descent once more to the fourth magnitude was testified to by the African traveller Burchell, who, at San Paulo, near Rio Janeiro, in 1827, saw with amazement the same star equal the brightest gem of the Southern Cross. A period of sixty-seven years was assigned to its fluctuations by Professor Loomis, the well-known American meteorologist and astronomer; but although they are pretty sure to be repeated, we cannot look for anything approaching to strict punctuality in their recurrences. Their interest and significance are greatly heightened by the circumstance that the object exhibiting them is plunged into the midst of a remarkable gaseous nebula, known as the "Key-hole Nebula," from the interruption of the brightest part of its light by an oval lacuna, shaped somewhat like a key-hole.

The Climate of Mars.—M. Pizeau, of the Paris Academy of Sciences, has lately attempted to explain the "canals of Mars" as products of glaciation. The enigmatical changes visible on the surface of the planet strikingly recall, he points out, the varied phenomena of ice-fields. Among these, the appearance of "parallel wrinkles," the opening of crevasses and rectilinear fissures, are most remarkable, and have recently been observed on a large scale by Nordenskiöld in Greenland. According to this view, the famous "canals" are nothing more than prodigious crevasses in the thick coating of "palæocrystic" ice with which Mars is perennially covered. But can we, in the dearth of others, admit this explanation, which would undoubtedly smooth away a good many difficulties? We fear not.

Since Mars receives only four-ninths as much solar heat per square foot as we do, the temperature at its surface *ought* to be much lower than it is here. Were the earth, just as it is, transported to its place, glaciation, from which at the most the zone included between the tropics would escape, should at once set in. Moreover, the atmosphere of Mars is much thinner than our own, and might hence be expected to afford a much less efficient protection against the cold of space. Yet, in point of fact, the Martian climate appears to be singularly mild. The polar snow-caps provide a measure of the extent of glaciation, and, by their diminution in summer, give palpable proof of the advancing warmth of the season. Their melting, as M. Flammarion remarked in answer to M. Pizeau, proceeds more rapidly and advances much farther than in the terrestrial arctic and antarctic regions. In the southern hemisphere, indeed, the summer of which takes place when the planet is at its nearest to the sun, the polar calotte all but completely disappears, its diameter having probably been reduced in 1879 to 120 kilometres. The northern snow-cap, at its minimum in May of the present year, was estimated by the same astronomer to be about 300 kilometres across. Confronted by these well-established facts, it is impossible to admit that the surface of

the planet is at all extensively glaciated, or its seas generally ice-bound. A mean temperature rather seems indicated not incompatible with the existence of even highly organized life, and suggesting a provision, through the agency perhaps of some atmospheric peculiarity, for storing up and turning economically to account the scanty heat-supplies received from the sun.

Modern Views of Lightning Conductors.—The researches of Prof. Oliver Lodge show very conclusively that the protection of a building from lightning is anything but a simple matter, and that the older electricians very much underrated the difficulties attending such a task. Prof. Lodge had an opportunity of exposing his theories during the lectures he recently delivered on the subject at the Society of Arts. He did not stop short at speculation, but endeavoured to prove by experiment that his ideas were worthy of acceptance. The illustrations he employed in every case seemed conclusive, but it is somewhat startling to find that two other distinguished electricians—Prof. Hughes and M. Guillemin—have performed some experiments at the Ecole de St. Cyr, which, on one important point, seemed to disagree with Prof. Lodge's conclusions; therefore one feels inclined to agree with Prof. Hughes, when he thinks that "all the researches that have been made have never yet approached the true condition of things." There are also other scientists who do not entirely agree with these latest ideas concerning lightning conductors. At this year's meeting of the British Association at Bath, we found on the programme "a discussion" on the subject between Mr. Preece, who attacked some of Prof. Lodge's arguments, and the professor himself, who endeavoured to maintain his ground, notwithstanding such a formidable opponent.

Although Prof. Lodge may not be entirely correct in his views, his work on the subject must be recognized as immensely valuable, as he has collected data which forms an admirable vantage ground for general discussion. It is with the vagaries of the lightning flash that Prof. Lodge chiefly deals—those uncomfortable "side flashes" that have puzzled so many. His ridicule of the conventional method of testing conductors is very apt; he says that a Leclanché cell, a galvanometer, or Wheatstone bridge are powerless to answer many important questions. He imagines such an accident as the following: A house is struck at one corner; the lightning rushes apparently part way down the conductor, then flashes off sideways to a roof gutter, sends forks down all the spouts, and knocks several bricks out; another branch bangs through a wall in order to run aimlessly along some bell-wires, and then out through a window-frame and down a spade propped up against the wall to earth. Such freaks require explanation. A lightning tester is sent for. He comes with his Leclanché cell and galvanometer. The electric energy from one Leclanché cell is supposed to represent that of a lightning flash, but one might just as well compare the "trickle down a hill-side" to "the path of an avalanche." The lightning tester reports that the earth of the conductor has 100 ohms resistance, and thus

accounts for the accident. He forgets, however, the resistance to be found in the path which the lightning chooses instead of the 100 ohms—it is something more like 100,000 ohms. Prof. Lodge finds that it is not a matter of mere conductivity; the most important factor is left out of consideration, that is, “electrical inertia”—in other words, the “self-induction” of the conductor. For this there must be an antidote. It is “elasticity”—electric capacity. The self-induction of the conductor must be reduced as much as possible, and the electric capacity must be increased whenever convenient. We learn from Prof. Lodge that the best way to lessen the self-induction of the conductor is to provide plenty of surface. He says that if a conducting rod is analyzed into a bundle of parallel wires or filaments, and a current started in all, the rising current in any one filament exerts an opposing force in all the others; that this self-generated electro-motive force due to induction between the different filaments of the conductor exactly imitates the effects of ordinary inertia as observed in massive bodies submitted to sudden mechanical forces. That since electrical inertia is due to a mutual action between the filaments into which a conductor may be supposed to be divided, it is manifest that the closer packed they are the greater their inertia will be, and to diminish inertia it is only necessary to separate the filaments and spread them out. He leads us, therefore, to the conclusion that a lightning conductor should not be a solid rod, but rather a thin sheet or a number of detached wires. Thus the “shape” of a conductor may be of great consequence, although so great a master of science as Faraday stated it was of no consequence whatever, the one necessary thing, in his opinion, being sectional area, weight for linear foot. Faraday for once was wrong. He thought only about conduction, and did not take inertia into consideration. Prof. Lodge decides that iron is the best material for a conductor; he goes so far as to say, “I regard the use of copper for lightning conductors as doomed.” This is the point in which Prof. Hughes and M. Guillemin disagree with him, the latter advocating the condemned metal. Prof. Lodge asserts that the magnetisability of iron is no objection to its use; that the flash is either too quick to magnetize the iron, or else the current confines itself so entirely to the outer skin of the conductor that there is nothing to magnetize. He tells us, too, that its inferior conductivity is an advantage in rendering the flash slower, and therefore less explosive; that its high melting-point, cheapness, and permanency are qualities which commend its adoption; he finally adds that it is not so likely to be stolen as copper. The remarks made about the capacity of conductors deserve notice, as, according to Prof. Lodge’s theory, increase of capacity is the remedy against self-induction. We are warned, however, that the term “capacity of a conductor” has a conventional meaning to denote its conducting power. Whenever he uses the phrase he means its elastic power. This is an instance how progress often tends to confusion of scientific expression. The dictionary of science needs constant

revision. We are told that the only plan in practice for increasing this "capacity" or elasticity of a conductor is to expand it over as much surface as possible. A lead roof is quoted as an expansion of fair capacity. "There should be as little mere rod projection as possible before some extent of surface begins: flat sheet for chimneys is better than round rod; it has at least more capacity and less self-induction."

In the case of tall, isolated chimneys, a collar of sheet metal at the top is suggested, and at intervals all the way down, or instead of this a warp of several thin wires joined together round the chimney by an occasional woof.

In the course of the same lectures which have made my base of comment, Prof. Lodge makes some pregnant remarks concerning the use of points. He agrees with others that points are correct, but he advocates their more liberal use. "Any number of them, rows of them, like barbed wire, not necessarily at all prominent, along ridges and eaves." It is fortunate, perhaps, that he states that the points need not be too obtrusive, or else the indignation of architects might have been aroused; but now that architects are instructed that there is no need for great spikes and ugly tridents, making the protected building symbolic of Neptune, architect and electrician may work in consort. The remarks concerning the "return stroke" are somewhat original. The ordinary explanation of this is the recovery of electrical equilibrium disturbed by static induction. Prof. Lodge thinks that it is due to electrical oscillations and overflows which can be easily set up in a charged conductor. He says: "A discharge from any one point of a conductor may cause such a disturbance and surging as to precipitate a much longer flash from a distant part of it."

It is not pleasant to find that in consequence of these effects a tall chimney or other prominent building in one neighbourhood, though it is protected by a conventional conductor, may be a source of danger around; that from it our houses may receive splashes of lightning. This is an unsatisfactory conclusion in one sense, but welcome if it should arouse more concentrated effort to master the situation.

The Recent Electric Light Litigation.—At the present moment the electrical industry in this country is in a very different position to that which it held a few weeks ago. Then it was one company alone—the Edison-Swan—who had the legal right to manufacture incandescent lamps for the consumers of electrical energy. By the judgments of 1887, first given by Mr. Justice Butt, endorsed later on by the Court of Appeal, all other makers of lamps had to suppress the forbidden industry. One company alone—the Brush Company—resisted the monopolizing sentence, and made and sold lamps. An action was brought by the Edison-Swan Company nominally against some of the users of these lamps, but substantially it was against the Brush Company, as they undertook to pay the costs of proceedings. The issue of the renewal of the conflict has been a

decision the very opposite to those of the preceding year, which puts the industry on a new footing. The decision of Mr. Justice Kay has in fact pronounced the famous Edison patent invalid. Mr. Edison is not the inventor of the incandescent lamp. There is now a pretty open field for competition in this industry of the "Carbon Filament," for no wide claim for a filament of this substance can be supported, only special processes of manufacturing the filament. But while there is an open field for the carbon conductor in *vacuo*, the Edison-Swan Company still has the legal monopoly of the important process of "flashing" the filaments. This renders the carbon homogeneous; it is, in fact, a most important stage of lamp construction. New competitors in electric incandescent lamp manufacture will have to invent some other plan of producing the desired effect, without flashing the filaments in an atmosphere of a gas containing carbon. Until they have done this they will be heavily handicapped. But necessity may produce an alternative method of putting the finish to the thread of carbon. At any rate there is now opportunity and scope for invention. Those who have read the proceedings of the late *cause célèbre* will have realized that taking out a patent properly is no easy matter, and that the interpretation of patent law admits of very fine distinctions. One of the most important points of the case in question was that condition expressed in every patent, that the patentee must so clearly express himself that a workman of ordinary intelligence can make the article from the description given in the patent. It seems the exact interpretation of the word workman varies according to circumstances. If the invention is a complete novelty it may mean *any* ordinary workman; if it is a new departure in a known industry it may mean a specialist workman. In the case of the incandescent lamp neither of the cases seemed to apply. When Edison took out his patent there certainly was no incandescent lamp industry, and consequently no specialist workmen. But there were other workers in the laboratory trying to make the incandescent lamp a commercial affair at the same time that Edison was employed on this task, and therefore it was a very fair trial of the clearness of Mr. Edison's specification to entrust the test of making the filaments from the wording of the patent to such scientists as Crookes. The experts chosen set to work on lamp-making with Edison's specification as their guide, and they failed. Consequently, on the point of "clearness," Mr. Edison's patent was found wanting. The remarks of Mr. Justice Kay on the "width of claim" allowable might well be studied by inventors. It seems that if an inventor discovers a principle and applies it, in his patent he can support a wide claim—*i.e.*, a monopoly—for his joint discovery and invention. If Edison had discovered the incandescence of a solid carbon conductor by the passage of a current of electricity through it, and had also invented the means of applying that principle in the incandescent lamp, he might then have kept any one from making an incandescent lamp, but the principles were known long ago, and therefore, according to one of the interpretations of

patent law, Edison's wide claim is invalid. One wonders whether any one ever yet discovered a principle and its application simultaneously. Invention usually is a slow outcome of scientific research.

The Purification of Air by Ozone.—At the International Congress of Hygiene held at Vienna in September last, the opening discourse was made by M. Brouardel on the Propagation of Typhoid Fever, and one of the aims of the Congress was to throw light on the combating of this malady, which annually destroys in Paris from 1500 to 1600 persons. Naturally the subject is one of vital interest to Frenchmen, and their doctors and savants are urging, first the purification of water, which distributes 90 per cent. of the typhoid germs, and secondly, the purification of air.

It is well known that ozone, an allotropic form of oxygen, introduced into the atmosphere in sufficiently large quantities, kills insects, flies, bees, butterflies, &c.; and it is proposed to ozonize the air in and about habitations to such a degree as to destroy the various micro-organisms which abound in the atmosphere in periods of epidemic. The French ozonizing apparatus consists of two glass tubes, filled with powdered graphite serving to conduct the electricity produced by a primary or secondary battery and passing through an induction machine which is coupled up to the two conducting tubes. These tubes are parallel one to the other, and at a distance suitable for the discharge which takes place in the air between them. Electrical discharges partially transform the oxygen of the air into ozone, which mixes with the surrounding atmosphere. Would not the ozonization of air possibly form a *direct* application for the Wimshurst Influence Machine, which apparently gives off abundance of ozone whilst it is being worked? This being a mechanical method of production, might be more convenient than the arrangement of batteries.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Franciscan Enterprise in Peru.—On the 28th of July the Peruvian Government assented to an important contract for the development of the north-eastern regions of Peru. It appears, from a private letter recently to hand, that the Franciscans (Grey) have explored a vast tract of country which has hitherto been comparatively little known. Their missionary labours have been crowned with success, for they have baptized and brought into the Church several hundred natives of a tribe whose existence was before unheard of.

While engaged upon their missionary work, these pioneers of civilization have likewise made several discoveries which cannot fail to exercise a very important influence on the commercial prosperity of Peru. They have discovered that the sands of several of the streams and rivers of the district which they have just explored are auriferous, and produce a very rich yield of gold after the washing. They have likewise discovered that the country for many leagues round contains great mineral wealth—silver, lead, and copper existing in abundance. The Government have already sent out engineers to sink shafts, and to make the necessary observations previous to the carrying on of the work specified in the contract mentioned above. The contract, it should be added, provides for the making of new roads, construction of railways, cutting of canals, and sinking of mines. At the present time, Peru is in a very impoverished condition, thanks to the Freemasons, who, affecting to be “patriotic,” and declaring that they, and no one else, had the interests of the country at heart, fomented a revolution immediately after the Chilian war, thus bringing the nation, already reduced to great poverty, to a state of absolute insolvency. Let us hope that the discoveries of the Franciscan missionaries may bring about a better state of affairs, and that both the Church and the country may largely benefit by their devoted labours.

African Diamond Mines.—Dr. Matthews* writes on South Africa with the authority of twenty years’ residence as a medical practitioner in Natal and the Kimberley district. Amid the mass of historical and social information contained in his book, the account of the growth and development of the diamond mines is the most novel and valuable. Since 1867, when the attention of a passing stranger (Mr. John O’Reilly) was drawn to a specially pretty stone, sold afterwards for £500, among the pebbles used as playthings by the children of a Boer called Niekerk, the export of diamonds from the South African colonies has grown to the value of over three and a half million sterling, reached in 1886. The first diggers settled on the bank of the Vaal, where the precious stone is still found in alluvial soil, though not in any large quantities; the estimated annual yield being valued at about £50,000. The dry diggings, from 1870, when those at Du Toit’s Pan were first worked, proved speedily so much more productive as completely to eclipse those by the river. Two other mines, known as Bultfontein and Old De Beers, were quickly opened, within a mile or two of the first, but all three were soon afterwards temporarily deserted when it became known that a young hunter called Rawstorne, while resting under a thorn-bush on a neighbouring Kopje, had, in idly scratching the ground, unearthed a splendid diamond. The name of the “New Rush,” first bestowed on the site, graphically portrayed the sudden influx of humanity which rapidly transformed the browsing ground of the

* “Incwadi Yami; or, Twenty Years’ Personal Experience in South Africa.” By J. W. Matthews, M.D. London: Sampson Low. 1887.

wild antelope into a busy encampment, and subsequently into the thriving town which owes its existence to the famous mine now bearing its name of Kimberley. Though the riches of this treasure-house are practically inexhaustible, the increased depth of excavation continually adds to the expense of working, leading to amalgamation of individual holdings into those of companies. Thus, the 1100 separate interests originally existing were in August 1866 reduced to 22, while the same process had converted the 592, 1417, and 799 claims of Old De Beers, Du Toit's Pan, and Bultfontein, into 6, 34, and 21 holdings respectively. The workings, at first open to the sky, are now subterranean, and machinery is substituted for hand labour in almost all the operations the quarried rock and soil are subjected to.

Kimberley, connected with Cape Town by direct railway, is now a town of 16,000 inhabitants, and civilization is represented there by the electric light, and by a theatre where Italian opera is performed, attended by an audience in full evening dress.

Illicit Diamond Dealing.—Very quickly, on the opening of the diamond mines, followed that of the surreptitious trade in stolen diamonds secreted by the natives employed by the owners of the claims. Ingenuity was ransacked to discover hiding-places for the stones, which were inserted in punctures of the skin or stowed in hollows in the heels of boots or handles of trunks. The harpies who dealt in the real stones fraudulently obtained were, in their turn, preyed on by other harpies, who palmed off imitation stones on them, a wrong for which, of course, they could invoke no legal redress, and an entire social organization grew up and thrived on the profits of these various nefarious transactions. So widely was society in Kimberley permeated by the ramifications of the illicit trade, that the jury system had to be set aside, and a commission of three judges substituted in the trial of diamond-stealing cases. The profits may be inferred from the instance of a German, recorded by our author, who, after having undergone flogging and a term of imprisonment for the offence, returned to his native country with a fortune of over £30,000. The most effectual remedy is found in what is known as the *onus probandi* law now in force, by which every one found in possession of a diamond is bound to show a legal title to it.

Kaap Valley Goldfields.—The discovery of gold in South Africa dates from 1867, when the Tati diggings in the Matabele country were explored by Mr. Hartley, the celebrated elephant hunter. Little success has, however, hitherto attended the attempt to work them, and the centre of gold mining operations has, since 1882, been transferred to the Kaap Valley in the Transvaal. The discovery by two brothers of the name of Barber in 1884 of a rich reef of auriferous quartz on the Umvoti Creek, was followed in May 1885 by that of "Bray's Golden Quarry," on the Sheba range, about ten miles distant. So rich did this mine prove that, despite cost of transport, the company formed to work it paid back, in fifteen months, 63½ per cent. of its capital in dividends, its £1 shares sold readily at

£75 or over, and the return of its crushing averaged 7 ozs. 3 dwts. per ton, although 4 ozs. per ton were lost in the refuse owing to imperfect treatment. Barberton, the capital of this district, is fast rising into importance, and already boasts a club, a theatre, three banks, and several churches, to minister to the wants of a population of over 2000. It is, as yet, very badly off for communications, being reached from Natal or Kimberley by several days' travelling in post waggons or carts, the unbridged rivers having, when in flood, to be swum by the passengers. Its eventual outlet will be by Delagoa Bay, from which it is but 130 miles distant, as opposed to 450 from Durban and 1300 from Capetown.

Catholicity at the Diamond Fields.—Dr. Matthews pays a high tribute to the zeal and devotion of the Catholic priests, and in particular to that of Father Hidien—the pioneer of religion at the diggings—who died there of fever in 1871, revered and loved by that lawless population.

At that time the Catholics of Du Toit's Pan [says the writer], like the Hebrews of old in the desert, assembled for divine worship in a tent, while their priest, living in a tent waggon close by, was ready to follow his congregation wherever a new rush might draw them. When Colesberg Kopje (Kimberley mine) developed into a permanent digging, Father Le Bihan (Father Hidien's successor) followed, and it was here, through his instrumentality, that a permanent church of wood and iron was erected. When this was out of debt, Father Le Bihan turned his attention to education, and built, in an incredibly short space of time, the three first schools in Griqualand West, one for boys, one for girls, and the third for infants. Just at this juncture Bishop Richards paid the Fields a visit from Grahamstown, and at a banquet which was given in his honour on that occasion, I recollect that Mr. R. W. Murray, the vice-chairman, told the company "that his experience of the Catholic Church in South Africa was that, wherever the Catholics erected churches, schools at once followed, of which Kimberley was an instance in point."

A new church of stone and brick was begun in November 1879, and completed in a year, at a cost of £7000. A handsome convent, built in 1878, is occupied by the Sisters of the Holy Family, who superintend the education of girls, and the Sisters of Nazareth have still more recently (1888) sent out some of their members to found a branch there.

Christmas Island.—This latest addition to the British Empire is situated about 200 miles to the south of the western extremity of Java, and about a third of the distance between that island and the Keeling Islands, also British territory. As it has never been inhabited, and is indeed uninhabitable, from the want of water, which sinks into its limestone rocks, while its absence of a harbour deprives it of all strategic value, it would be an utterly useless possession were it not for the guano and cocos, which give it some commercial importance. Scientifically, however, it is of considerable interest, and the reports of visits paid to it in 1886 by H.M.S. *Flying Fish* (Captain Maclear), and in 1887 by H.M.S. *Egeria* (Captain Aldridge), read to the Royal Geographical Society by the Hydrographer to the

Admiralty, contain some curious facts. The island is composed of coral, believed to have been formed on a volcanic cone, and subsequently upheaved, in a series of uplifts alternating with stationary periods, to its present height of over 1100 feet. There is probably no other instance known of an island retaining its coral covering intact to such a height, forming in some places steep and almost inaccessible cliffs, covered by the most luxuriant vegetation. The surface of the island is, moreover, honeycombed all over, from the wearing action of rains and weather, which have carved it into fantastically formed crags and spires. Its vegetation is also peculiar, as the trees have in many cases thrown out pillar-like buttresses from their trunks. It swarms by night with rats, and by day with huge crabs of a repulsive aspect, blueish-yellow in colour, with monstrous claws and protruding eyes. There is but one anchorage, available only for small vessels, and not very safe.—(*Times*, July 18, 1888.)

Californian Fruit Production.—The riches of the gardens of California promise to rival those of its goldfields, and, according to a report on its agriculture by the British Consul at San Francisco, it produces every kind of fruit grown in temperate and semi-tropical regions. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, currants, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, and strawberries belong to the former category, and to the latter, the orange, lemon, citron, shaddock, and other citrus fruits, the olive, pomegranate, fig, banana, apricot, nectarine, walnuts, almonds, and grapes producing both wine and raisins. Its trade in green fruit with the Eastern States amounted in 1887 to 35,000,000lb., while the production of its canneries in the previous year is estimated at 30,000,000lb., including 659,950 cases of fruit, 203,500 of vegetables, and 22,500 of jellies and jams, and the estimate for 1887 is 792,500 cases of fruit, averaging 45lb. each. Of these cases 220,000 were peaches, 175,500 apricots, 150,000 pears, 60,000 cherries, 40,000 plums, 35,000 grapes, 25,000 blackberries, and 15,000 each strawberries and gooseberries. Dried and evaporated fruits also form a very large article of export, amounting in 1887 to 16,000,000lb. of grapes, 3,000,000lb. apricots, 1,340,000lb. honey, 1,750,000lb. prunes, 1,500,000lb. walnuts, 1,750,000lb. peaches, apples (evaporated) 550,000lb., peaches (evaporated) 1,250,000lb., plums and almonds 500,000lb. each, with other fruits in lesser quantities. The growing of grapes for raisins proves very profitable, and the Californians believe, apparently with good grounds, that their raisins will eventually drive all others out of the markets of the United States. Greater attention to vine culture and wine manufacture, together with importation of foreign varieties, has caused a great improvement in the quality of Californian wine, formerly disliked for its harsh flavour, and 13,000,000 gallons were produced in 1887, while 150,000 acres are planted with vines, of which 90 per cent. are of the best foreign varieties.

Volcanic Disaster in Japan.—An eruption, equal in its devas-

tating effects to any recorded in history, took place on the morning of July 15, 1888, from the long quiescent crater of Bandaisan, on the island of Tokio, and two days' journey from the city of the same name. No outburst had taken place from it for nearly eleven centuries, and the catastrophe was as unexpected and appalling as that which buried the cities of Campania. The existence of hot springs alone testified to the continued activity of the volcanic forces, three of these solfataras having been situated at the foot of the secondary peak, Sho-Bandaisan, about 3000 feet high, which formed the actual vent of the recent explosion. The ancient crater was on the summit, 5800 feet high, and the disruptive forces appear to have been exercised to a great extent in a lateral direction, giving comparative immunity to places situated on the mountain, behind the point of discharge. Slight shocks of earthquake, accompanied by subterranean rumblings and disturbances in the flow of the springs, are said to have been perceived for some days previous, but the first serious warning of danger was conveyed by an earthquake at 7.30 on the fatal morning, followed at intervals of a quarter of an hour by two other shocks of increasing violence.

Instantly upon the last [writes a correspondent from Tokio in the *Times* of September 11] arose a fearful noise, described by some as like that of a hundred thunders, by others as the most unearthly sound that ever startled the ears of men. Sho-Bandaisan was seen to be lifted bodily into the air, and spread abroad, and, after it, leaped forth tongues of flame and dense dark clouds of vapour and *ejectamenta*. Of the ensuing phenomena it is hard to gain any clear idea from the tales of the distracted survivors. Apparently, however, a quick succession of reports, accompanied by violent earth throes and winds of hurricane force, lasted for about a minute. Then began the shower of ashes, dust, hot water, and leaves. The light quickly faded as the exploded matter spread over the firmament, so that day was soon changed into night, and did not return for several minutes. Meanwhile the avalanches of earth and mud must have already done much of their deadly work. We gather, at least, from the narratives of some of the survivors at Nagasaka, and from other concurrent testimony, that the interval between the explosion and the arrival of the mud-torrent which swept past that hamlet cannot have been more than from ten to fifteen minutes. Before the light was restored all the flower of the village had been swallowed up. How that long journey of some ten miles from the crater had been performed by the mud at such an astonishing speed it is impossible to say. There is evidence that in places the earth-flow lasted for about an hour. But in the above we have the clearest proof that some at least of the destroying matter was hurled over the country at railroad speed, even after being deflected through wide angles from its original line of motion.

Widespread Devastation.—The scale of the convulsion may be estimated from the fact that a mountain mass of some 700,000,000 tons weight was tossed bodily into the air, and its *débris* deposited to a depth of perhaps 15 feet, over an area of 30 square miles. A rugged, almost sheer cliff, 600 feet high, is left standing as the remaining fragment of the mountain blown away. The secondary effects of the eruption included whirlwinds of extraordinary violence, levelling

forests as though reaped by a scythe, outbursts of scalding water in floods from the ground, inundations from rivers dammed up by the disrupted masses flung across their beds, and earth-shocks overthrowing buildings and obliterating landmarks. The comparatively small number of human victims, computed at about 600, is accounted for by the scantiness of population in the devastated districts. All vegetation is annihilated, the country being absolutely buried beneath the earth-deluge, and strewn in some places with masses of rock weighing as much as 200 tons. Lakes have been formed where none existed previously, valleys filled with ejected matter, villages buried beneath 20 feet of ash and cinder, and only a chaotic scene of destruction is left in place of rice fields and mulberry groves over an area about half that of London. The subterranean forces do not seem to have exhausted their energy, and clouds of suffocating steam, charged with mephitic vapours, still rise with sullen roar from the wreck of the crater. The eruption would seem to have been unaccompanied by any flow of lava, as is often the case in explosions from long disused vents which the volcanic forces have to clear of accumulated obstructions to their free play.

Excursion to Central Asia.—A special train with a party of excursionists to Samarkand was announced to leave Paris on the first Saturday of September. The price of the return ticket, including food, interpreters, steamboats, carriages, &c., was 5000 fr., or £200, and every arrangement was made for the comfort of the passengers, including the provision of a medical attendant. The trip is timed to take two months, the outward route being by Vienna, Cracow, and Lemberg to Kief, thence to Odessa, across the Black Sea by steamer to Sebastopol, and through the Baidan Valley to Yalta, whence another steamer will convey the party to Novo Rossisk on the Circassian coast. The passage of the Caucasus and a visit to Tiflis follow; Askabad, the headquarters of General Alikhanoff, will then be reached by the Central Asian Railway, which will convey the travellers to the oasis of Merv, and thence across the Oxus to Samarkand. Five days are allowed for sight-seeing in the capital of Tamerlane, where are his tomb, his palace, and the celebrated Koktash, or "Blue Stone," on which the Emirs are crowned. The homeward route includes a visit to the wonderful petroleum region of the Caucasus, the voyage across the Black Sea from the port of Batoum, and last, not least, a visit to Constantinople.

Paris to Constantinople.—The through service from Paris to Constantinople, *via* Vienna, Pesth, Belgrade, Nish, and Sofia, was inaugurated on August 11 by a train passing over the new part of the line, and conveying a large party of guests, correspondents, and representatives of the various railway companies interested, from Buda-Pesth to Sofia, where an inaugural banquet took place under the presidency of Prince Ferdinand. The journey was continued on the following day *via* Vukarel, Bellona, and Adrianople to Constantinople, and on the same day the actual through service began by

the starting of a train from the Golden Horn to Paris. The distance of 1270 miles thence to Vienna is accomplished in forty-eight hours, and the whole time to London in ninety-four hours of actual travelling, but the present arrangements necessitate a break of a day at Vienna. The Sleeping Car Company intend to run a through train weekly before long, by which the journey from Calais to Constantinople may be performed without changing carriages. This improvement in Oriental travelling may prove to be the pioneer of a further revolution, by which the long-talked of Euphrates Valley route to India by Bagdad and Bassorah on the Persian Gulf, and thence by steamer to Kurrachee, may at last be opened up. The Sultan has given an Irade empowering a syndicate of English and German financiers to work this line through Aleppo, and its construction would render possible the delivery of English letters simultaneously at Bombay and Calcutta within a fortnight.

Krakatoa Revisited.—Dr. Treub, director of the Botanical Garden of Buitenzvig, Java, has published an account of the reappearance of vegetation on the Island of Krakatoa, which, as our readers doubtless remember, partly sank, and was wholly overwhelmed by ashes and pumice-stone during the eruption of its volcano in 1883. Yet Dr. Treub, on visiting it three years later (on June 26, 1886), was surprised to find it covered with vegetation to its mountain summit. No root or seed of previously existing plants could have survived the eruption, as the toughest organism must have been destroyed by the excessive volcanic heat, and the whole surface was covered with a layer of ash and pumice-stone from 3 feet to 240 feet thick. Nor could the new vegetation, in Dr. Treub's opinion, have been introduced by man, since the island is uninhabited and difficult of access. It must, therefore, have sprung from seeds carried either by birds, or by air or water currents. It consists, for the most part, of ferns, of which eleven different varieties were found, and of single specimens of blossoming herbs, such as are found on coral reefs, newly risen above the level of the sea. The ferns, however, were not the first living organisms to reclothe the desolated rocks, and Dr. Treub found indications that the way had been prepared for them by a thin layer of algæ, which covered the pumice-stone and ashes in the first instance, softening the soil so as to render it capable of absorbing water, and by their decay forming a vegetable mould from which other plants might draw nourishment. The algæ were thus the pioneers of the ferns, and they, in their turn, of the blossoming herbs, which will doubtless be succeeded by some higher order of vegetable production. Thus in a few years all trace of the great convulsion will be obliterated by the reparatory powers of nature.

Opening of the Yenesei Route to Siberia.—Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in a despatch to Lord Salisbury of June 30, 1888, gives a history of the efforts of an English seaman to open up a commercial route to the heart of Siberia. Joseph Wiggins, mate of a brig connected with the Archangel trade,

conceived many years ago the idea of opening up a new waterway from the Arctic Ocean into the Kara Sea, by the gates of Kara, then supposed to be ice-bound, and thus, by way of the Yenesei River, penetrating to the heart of Siberia and the northern confines of China. In 1874, he fitted out a small Arctic-built steam-yacht, the *Diana*, of about 120 tons, and made a successful experimental voyage, passing through the Kara Straits to the mouth, first of the Obi and afterwards of the Yenesei. He ascertained that the Gulf Stream passes eastward along the coast of Lapland to Novaia Zemlia, and has sufficient force, in combination with the volume of water poured through the Straits by the Obi and Yenesei, to drive the ice to the north of the Kara Sea, and keep the navigation open during the summer months. English capitalists did not show any great eagerness to adopt the idea, but with the help of a Russian mine-owner he was enabled, in 1876, to fit out a steamer, with which he ascended the Yenesei for nearly 1000 miles. Though the vessel was destroyed by the breaking up of the ice in the following year, she had been successful as a pioneer, and in 1879 Mr. Wiggins carried a cargo from Liverpool to the mouth of the Obi, and brought another back. Five steamers were subsequently freighted in England for the same destination, but they were condemned by him as unfit for their work, and their disastrous voyage, while it justified his forecast, threw doubt for some time on his previous conclusions. In 1887, however, some merchants were found enterprising enough to risk the venture, and forming themselves into a company, under the title of the *Phoenix* Merchant Adventurers, they freighted a steamer of 400 tons with samples of goods, and started her in charge of Captain Wiggins, from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Yeneseisk. The Kara Straits were safely passed, and the ascent of the river, strange to say, was then successfully made, under the guidance of a blind Samoyede chief, whose accurate description from memory of the landmarks enabled it to be accomplished in safety. On October 9, 1887, a sea-going steamer, bringing cargo from across the ocean, for the first time cast anchor and landed goods at Yeneseisk, in the heart of Siberia, 2000 miles inland, and within a few hundred versts of the Chinese frontier. Captain Wiggins, moreover, not only succeeded in getting the whole of the cargo of the *Phoenix* admitted free of duty, but obtained a like concession for his countrymen for five years, for certain classes of merchandise landed on the Yenesei or Obi.

The Ob-Railway.—A trade route to the same region will also be opened by the Ob-Railway, to which the Russian Government has just given its sanction. It will be the most northern line, not alone in Siberia, but in the world, and the contractor for its construction expects it to open up a new life for the country it passes through, and to be of large benefit to English trade as well. Its port will be on the Sea of Baigatsch, from which it will run for a distance of 400 versts to the little town of Obdorsk, through the district of the Ingor. It is intended to carry goods traffic almost exclusively,

and twelve trains a day will be run, consisting of twenty-five waggons each. Corn, to the amount of 30,000,000 poods a year, is the principle export from Siberia, and of this the greater part goes to England. When the railway is completed, it is calculated that the total cost of its transport to London from the rich agricultural district of Barnaul will be but 40 kopeks per pood.

M. de Lesseps on the Panama Canal.—In a paper by M. de Lesseps on the Panama Canal, read before the British Association on September 5, he announces that it will be provisionally constructed with ten locks, in order to be open for traffic in 1890 (an absolute necessity by the terms of the concession). Since November 1887, two sections, one of 17 kilometres from Colon on the Atlantic side, the other of 8 kilometres from Boca on the Pacific side, have been open, and the work done later has been principally devoted to widening and deepening them. In April last the full canal width had been attained over a section of $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres from Colon, and a depth throughout nearly 14 kilometres, varying from a minimum of 5 to a maximum of $8\frac{1}{2}$ metres. During the six months between January 1 and June 30, 1888, the excavation had reached a total of 7,479,400 cubic metres, exceeding by nearly 100,000 cubic metres per month the average the contractors were bound to. The provisional opening of the canal by means of locks will necessitate an excavation of forty million cubic metres, of which ten millions will be in hard rocks. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these figures with the statement that the canal will be completed in two years, as the rate of excavation hitherto has not exceeded 12,000,000 cubic metres per annum, a figure which will now have to be raised to 20,000,000. This moreover represents material mainly taken from soft ground, the maximum for the rocky sections of Culebra and Emperador not having exceeded 1,616,000 cubic metres a year, a rate at which seven years would be required to prepare the mountainous sections for the locks. The contract for the new work has been taken by M. Eiffel, constructor of the stupendous tower now in course of erection in Paris.

Notes on Novels.

With the Immortals. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: Macmillan. 1888.

MR. STEVENSON'S "Dr. Jekyll" and Mr. Anstey's "Vice Versâ" are answerable for having suggested to other novelists those flights into the realms of the weird or grotesque supernatural, of which we now see so many examples. Mr. James Payn, in "The

Eavesdropper," has given a specimen of the latter style, and Mr. Crawford, in the present work, of the former, not, we think, to the advantage of his readers. An electrical experiment on a gigantic scale produces, first, an atmospheric convulsion, and secondly, a series of ghostly resuscitations, in the course of which the spirits of the illustrious dead return to hold communion with the living in lengthy dialogues, which we fear the ordinary reader will be tempted to skip wholesale. Heine, Chopin, Julius Cæsar, and other notabilities of the past were doubtless good company when alive, but would seem, in the other world, to have developed a tendency to longwindedness, at least equal to that of most flesh and blood bores of our acquaintance. The scene of these spiritualistic adventures is, however, a romantic one, and Mr. Crawford has not evolved it altogether out of his own imagination. The Moorish ruin which an enterprising Englishman has adapted to the uses of a luxurious modern dwelling, with its gardens and terraces overlooking the blue Bay of Salerno, is an actual fact. Its real site is the crag-platform of Ravello, a thousand feet above Amalfi, where are to be seen, in perfect preservation, a group of Saracenic buildings as characteristic as those of Southern Spain. Were ghosts indeed to "revisit the glimpses of the moon" the choice of such a spot for their reappearance would do credit to their taste for scenery.

The Fatal Three. By M. E. BRADDON. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1888.

MISS BRADDON'S plot turns on the shipwreck of wedded happiness owing to a conscientious scruple on the part of the wife, who leaves her husband in the mistaken belief that he is the widower of her half-sister. The tragedy of her life is thus linked to that of an older one, for it is her aunt, Miss Faussett, who, tricked in early youth into a mock-marriage with an Italian adventurer, has borne the child, for whose mysterious parentage her brother suffers in character and domestic happiness. A sombre and perhaps truthful picture is given of the later life of this lady, subsisting on the applause and flattery of others as a substitute for her shattered self-respect, and seeking to atone for the error of her youth by external good works, while hardening her heart against her unhappy child, and screening her immaculate reputation at the cost of her own truth and the peace of others. The mystery is finally cleared up by the fortuitous discovery of a packet of old letters, but Mildred returns to her husband only to claim his love and care for the short remainder of a life shortened by the misery she has gone through. A lighter vein of interest is introduced by the adventures and flirtations of the heroine's niece, Pamela, a young lady whose happy inconstancy of temperament enables her to adopt the ready cure of substitution of persons for her romantic disappointments. It is perhaps hypercriticism to say that Miss Braddon's attractive title has no obvious justification in the plot, and that we reach the third

volume without ever conclusively identifying "The Fatal Three" whose acquaintance is promised by the title page.

The Blacksmith of Voe. By PAUL CUSHING. London : Blackwood. 1888.

IT is paying a high tribute to the author's narrative power to say that the interest of his story outweighs its absurdities and incongruities. The reluctant courtship of Ruth Boden, the miller's daughter, by the middle-aged bachelor Balthasar Phythian, at the instigation of a maiden sister especially remarkable for her aristocratic hauteur, is a gratuitous outrage on probability, and has little connection with the main plot, which in itself turns on an incident barely credible, the return of a man to his native village at the lapse of some twenty years, and his residence unrecognized among his former friends and associates. His original disappearance resulted from a fratricidal struggle in which his brother believed him to have perished, while the rest of the world supposed him to have fled from justice, as the guilty aggressor in the quarrel. His son Abel plays the part of hero, his niece Ruth, daughter of the would-be fratricide, that of heroine, and the account of the rescue of this pair from the inundation of the Scarthin forms a thrilling close to the second volume. The humours and oddities of rustic life are described in a style that recalls the authors of "*Mehalah*" and "*Far from the Madding Crowd*," but there is still a certain crudity of conception displayed in the tendency to push originality to extravagance. Mr. Cushing, when this defect has been toned down by added maturity of judgment, promises to be a brilliant addition to the group of novelists of English country life.

Ninette, an Idyll of Provence. By the Author of "*Vera*," &c. London : Hurst & Blackett. 1888.

THE rural scenery of Provence furnishes a charming setting for this tale of southern French peasant life. All the troublesome complications in the heroine's destiny are introduced by an evil step-mother, an adventuress of the worst type, whom Hugues Firmin had married with the mistaken idea of retrieving his broken fortunes by the help of her imaginary savings. The machinations of this woman, in combination with an equally unscrupulous cousin-confederate, hasten on the ruin of her unhappy husband, and imperil the happiness of Ninette by throwing obstacles in the way of her union with Noel, her handsome and true-hearted lover. The great earthquake of the Riviera is ingeniously utilized to bring about the solution of these difficulties, and the guilty pair, overtaken by an appalling judgment while still fresh from the riot of the Carnival, are among those buried among the ruins. The picture of French rural society is a dark one; modern ideas are represented as bringing us face to face with that most miserable of spectacles, "an impious peasantry," while foreign competition inflicts material ruin on those who have

forfeited all spiritual consolation, and the whole political and administrative machinery of the country is manipulated by the vilest and most corrupt members of society. No Catholic writer gives a more beautiful picture of religion and its working than this gifted novelist, though not, we believe, a member of the Church which seems to have so much of her sympathy.

Sylvia Arden. By OSWALD CRAWFURD. London :
Kegan Paul. 1888.

MR. CRAWFURD, hitherto best known as a writer on Portugal, has made his mark as a novelist of the sensational school with his present work. "*Sylvia Arden*" is a delightful tale, dramatically told, and abounding in incident and picturesque situation. We do not presume to guarantee the probability of the central idea, the creation of a miniature sovereignty for himself by an adventurous English squire on the Channel coast, presumably in Cornwall, where he lives isolated in his own demesne surrounded by foreign dependents, and dealing arbitrarily with the liberties and lives of all who venture within his territory. Granted, however, its possibility, the state of things thus created furnishes ample field for startling adventure of a novel and romantic kind. The motive which prompts the eccentric conduct of Gregory Morson, the master of Scarfell Towers, in thus seeking to play the part of a petty despot, is his desire to appropriate a hidden treasure of golden ingots, forgotten or abandoned in the workings of prehistoric miners. His machinations include the attempted assassination of the heroine, his cousin and *fiancée*, and the partial poisoning of the hero through the instrumentality of an Italian doctor and a mysterious drug, under whose influence, while helpless but fully conscious, he is actually, but of course temporarily, buried alive. All these sinister designs are happily baffled in the end, and poetic justice, in the form of a violent death, is wreaked upon their author, while the innocent survivors profit by his ill-gotten wealth. The incidental conversations are brightly written, and the author has caught some of Mr. Rider Haggard's knack of giving verisimilitude by minuteness of detail.

The Reverberator. By HENRY JAMES. London :
Macmillan. 1888.

MR. JAMES'S incisive style gives vitality to his slight sketches of life and manners, enabling the reader to take interest in the faithfully limned but shadowy personages who flit across his pages like the bodiless reflections in a mirror. Their outward form and semblance is accurately reproduced for us, the trick of manner or trait of countenance is vividly brought before us, but superficial intimacy never grows into sympathetic comprehension, and we come no nearer to their inner selves at the end of the concluding volume than at the moment of our first introduction. The fortunes of an American trio, father and two daughters, sojourning at an hotel in

Paris, are the subject of the present tale, and the aimless, yet contented vacuity of their lives under these circumstances is doubtless a veracious presentment of those of many of their fellow-countrymen. The group here portrayed are, however, redeemed from inanity by their utter amiability and innocence of guile. The heroine, the pretty and petted Francie, is a pale but exquisite silhouette, and her unflawed sweetness, loyal sincerity, and absolute transparency of character atone for what we cannot but feel to be a total absence of mind. The necessary complication in her destiny is brought about by the treachery of a compatriot, the Paris correspondent of an American society paper, *The Reverberator*, who takes advantage of her simplicity to draw her out on the secrets and scandals of her fiancée's family, in order to break off her engagement by their publication. Much turmoil is naturally created among the various sisters and brothers-in-law of the noble French connection into which she is going to marry, and she nobly prefers risking the loss of her lover to clearing herself of complicity by a falsehood. Her beauty and naïveté however triumph in the end, and we leave her restored to happiness.

Maiwa's Revenge. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Longmans. 1888.

MR. RIDER HAGGARD'S readers will not be sorry to meet their old friend, Allan Quatermain, in the pages of his present volume, which narrates a thrilling experience of that mighty hunter of great game in South Africa. His participation in the "war of the Little Hand," between two native tribes, is due to his desire to save a white captive from the clutches of the cruel chief whose kraal is the object of attack. *Maiwa's* gruesome tale gives an element of tragedy to the episode, which is worked out in all its sanguinary details with the author's usual realistic power.

The Black Arrow. By ROBERT L. STEVENSON. London: Cassell & Co. 1888.

THE graphic power, so strikingly displayed in the author's previous historical tale, "Kidnapped," of reproducing the past without any loss of living interest, is again a notable characteristic of the present volume. Here, however, the scene is shifted from the Jacobite rising in the Western Highlands to the English Wars of the Roses during the disastrous reign of Henry VI. The plot turns on the oppression of his two wards, boy and girl, by a cruel and unscrupulous knight, with their manifold adventures in trying to escape from his tyranny. The "Black Arrow" is the cognizance of a band of outlaws, who wage a guerilla warfare on the knight and his underlings, and become for a time the associates and allies of the fugitive hero. The latter eventually wins his spurs in more honourable fight, under Richard of Gloucester, handed down to history as Crookback. Of him, in his early youth, the author draws a lifelike portrait, while his tale gives a stirring picture of the time in which it is laid.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Juillet 1888 (Paris).

The Jubilee Edition of Tatian's Diatesseron.—This number of the *Revue* opens with an article on Tatian's *Διά τεσσάρων* by Professor J. P. P. Martin, of the Theological School at Paris, which will be of considerable interest to Biblical students. It may be remembered that the same author wrote an article on the same subject in 1883, of which a brief account was given in our pages at the time (DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1883). The occasion of his present paper is the appearance of an edition of an Arabic text with a Latin translation prepared and published at Rome by the Augustinian Father A. Ciasca, of the Vatican Library, in celebration of the Holy Father's Jubilee.* An Arab text had long lain in the Vatican Library, and it was to have been published five years ago. The Abbé Martin considers the delay in its publication providential, because it bore indications which led to doubts as to its being in detail an authentic and not an interpolated codex. This MS. (numbered 14 in the Vatican Library) was seen, as it happened, by the Apostolic Delegate to the Copts whilst he was in Rome, and recalled to his remembrance a similar MS., in Egypt, which on his return he procured for the Vatican Library. From this new acquisition, compared with the former MS., has been made Father Ciasca's Arabic edition; and the Abbé Martin's article is chiefly occupied in showing his reasons for believing that the newly acquired Arabic codex, though late in date (written in the ninth century), is authentic, and in indicating its value as a help in Biblical studies. If his conclusion as to its authenticity be correct, it follows, among other interesting deductions, that the incident of the woman taken in adultery was not in Tatian's original. But the most curious portion of the Abbé Martin's article is his explanation, based on data furnished by this last Arabic codex, of how the variations in copies of the Diatesseron arose. He applies the same principle of explanation to account for a number of interpolated sentences in even the text of the New Testament Epistles—among others, the famous clause (1 Jo. v. 7) of the three Heavenly Witnesses. So that Tatian's Diatesseron has played an important rôle, not only in the East directly, but in the West, by reason of those Harmonies of the Epistles which were modelled on it and were so long used as lectionaries in Spain

* "Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmonie." Arabicè. Nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit et translatione latina donavit P. Augustinus Ciasca, Ord. Eremit. S. Aug. &c. Romæ. 1888. In 4to, xvi. -108 pp., and 210 pp. of Arab text.

("the use of them still continues," he says, "in some of the Spanish cathedrals"). This brief mention will be enough to indicate to the student the value of the present article. It will perhaps interest many if we quote the Abbé Martin's concluding words giving his critical opinion of the merits of Father Ciasca's learned undertaking.

I must not bid adieu to Tatian's *Diatesseron* [he writes] without congratulating Father Ciasca on the care with which he has edited his beautiful volume. The Arabic types are very fine, and the result repays the trouble of having had them expressly cast for the work. The Latin translation is what one would have expected from a conscientious scholar. The Introduction is perhaps somewhat brief, but it contains all that is really of interest scientifically and critically. The "*Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniæ*" has worthily honoured Pope Leo's Jubilee, and the learned world will long preserve the remembrance of it.

Baptism in Play.—In an article entitled "*Dioclétien et les Chrétiens avant l'établissement de la tétrarchie (285-293)*," M. Paul Allard gives another instalment of those interesting articles, so full of erudition and useful reference, on the sufferings of the early Christian martyrs and the times in which they lived. The title of his present contribution sufficiently indicates the period with which it is concerned, and here we can make no attempt to even name the headings of the various incidents and persons who come in for mention. We may refer to one description as of vivid dramatic interest—the pages in which M. Allard describes the conversion and martyrdom of S. Gesenius, the comedian. He prepared, for the amusement of Diocletian and the Roman crowd, a mimic representation of Christian baptism, and (as happened more than once in like circumstances) when the would-be comedy of pouring the water over him took place, grace flashed across his soul, the farce became a reality, and, declaring himself a Christian in fact, and that he had seen the heavens open to let a hand rest upon him, and had seen the angels blot his sins out of the book, the Master of the Revels became himself the sport of anti-Christian hatred, and, having suffered with heroic patience various tortures, was finally beheaded.

Other articles in this number would well merit some detailed mention if space permitted. One of considerable length (occupying, in fact, no less than seventy-four pages of the Review) is by M. Gaston de Bourges, and is sufficiently described in the title, "*Le Comte de Vergennes : ses débuts diplomatiques en Allemagne, auprès de l'Electeur de Trèves et de l'Electeur de Hanovre, 1750-1752.*" The Comte de Vergennes was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by Louis XVI. on his accession in 1774, and remained so until his own death in 1787, and the article, being founded on inedited documents in the archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and in private archives which escaped destruction at the time of the French Revolution, contains not a little that is interesting and valuable *pour servir*. This is followed by a study in Administration—"Ressources extraordinaires de la royauté sous

Philippe VI de Valois," by M. J. Viard, somewhat tough for the general reader, but valuable to those concerned. Among the minor articles may be mentioned one by the Comte de Mas Latrie on some recent discoveries in Cyprus, these being—(1) a tomb slab of a son of King Hugh IV. of Lusignan (found at Nicosia); (2) the tomb of Adam of Antioch, Marshal of Cyprus, who died at the beginning of the thirteenth century; and (3) some fragments of inscriptions. Another of these minor articles is a critique by M. Adolphe d'Avril of M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire's recent volume "*L'Inde-anglaise, son état actuel, son avenir*" (Paris, 1887). M. St.-Hilaire, we learn, has an enthusiastic admiration of British rule in India, "not as it showed itself during '*la période mercantile*,'" but such as it now is, since the suppression of the celebrated Company. He tells his countrymen of the "tolerance" of English authority in India in the matter of the Catholic religion, and gives them the touching narrative of the marvellous self-sacrifice of two French Religious, missionaries among one of the tribes. The literatures of India have naturally a special attraction for the author, and he is here much indebted to Mr. Monier Williams. As to the future of India, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire has something interesting to say. There is its religious future, and as to this he believes that "India will end by becoming Christian *tout entière*. . . . Christian civilization gains ground daily and loses none." Catholics, he adds, are proportionately most numerous, and especially among the Hindoo peoples, and the organization of Catholic missions, he says, is very strong (*puissante*), adding (he himself is not a Catholic) "*le Protestantisme est moins bien partagé*." Thus far the religious future. As to the political, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire considers that English rule in India has nothing to fear from the native tribes: the danger, still distant, but a real danger, is exterior—the danger from Russia.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

The Late Dr. Scheeben.—The July number contains a second article on the Bull "*Unam Sanctam*" of Boniface VIII. This article has the melancholy interest of being the last contribution from the gifted pen of the late Dr. Scheeben, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the episcopal seminary of Cologne. Dr. Scheeben's career was closely connected with the development of dogmatic theology in Germany since the Vatican Council, and with the history of the Council itself. For he, perhaps, second only in the country after Cardinal Hergenroether, was conspicuous in the defence of the Bishops of the Council and of the famous decision of July 1870. Professor Scheeben was educated in the German College, Rome, where he

attended the lectures of Perrone, Passaglia, Tarquini, Ballerini, and Kleutgen. Even in his early years at the German College he gave undeniable proofs of his speculative power and originality in illustrating the great mysteries of religion. As a mark of his wide attainments may be mentioned his strong attachment to Father Secchi, under whose guidance he made such progress in the astronomical sciences as enabled him to begin a great work on questions connected with astronomy and music, a work which would have been published before long had Dr. Scheeben's life been spared. Cardinal Patrizi conferred the dignity of priesthood on Dr. Scheeben on December 18, 1858. After his arrival in Germany he at once began the study of the works of the Fathers and scholastics, and at intervals, as time went on, he brought out a series of dogmatical writings which have earned for him the admiration of Catholic divines in every country. Having translated the "Glories of Divine Grace" of Father Eusebius Nieremberg, and brought out a new edition of Cazinus's "Quid est Homo?" he published in 1865 his first great work, "The Mysteries of Christianity," which for original power and extensive studies marks an epoch in German theology, although the mystical element which pervades it makes some parts rather difficult to be understood. At the time of the Vatican Council, as we have said, Dr. Scheeben showed himself one of the ablest defenders of the Holy See. We may especially mention his celebrated "Gegenerklaerungen," in which he confuted the thirty "Erwaegungen" for the Bishops of the Council published by Dr. Doellinger. It was, however, his "Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik" which made Scheeben's name familiar to Catholic scholars—a work which, it is much to be regretted, he did not complete. The wanting portion is the part treating of the Sacraments. For further details of the Professor's literary work we refer the reader to the article in the *Katholik*.

Rosmini's Philosophy.—In the same number we have two articles on the Rosminian propositions recently condemned by the Holy See. The articles present us with a picture of the holy life of this remarkable man, and trace the history of his writings; justifying the action taken by the Holy Office in its recent condemnation.

2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Austrian Influence and the Fall of the Stuarts.—Father Zimmermann contributes a rather lengthy criticism on the fourteen volumes of a work of special interest to English readers, Onno Klopp's now completed "Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover in Grossbritannien und Irland, 1660–1714." Former historians of this period held views favourable to either England or France, and, unfortunately, the French view has of late years fascinated such scholars as Professor Ranke. The immense influence exercised during that critical period by the

Imperial Court of Vienna, and chiefly by Leopold I., has been curiously kept out of sight until Onno Klopp, availing himself of the Vienna archives, has brought to light the part played by Leopold and his successors in defeating the tyranny of Louis XIV. We may accept the result of his work so far as it is concerned with unravelling the anti-Catholic policy of the French Court, the dupes of which undoubtedly were both Charles II. and his brother James II. But it is very doubtful whether Klopp's estimate of William III. as the champion of religious liberty, forced into the enactment of anti-Catholic laws by the Parliament of England, will be accepted by English or Irish Catholics. On the whole, Klopp seems to be too severe on the Stuarts. His work, nevertheless, is one which no English historian will be able to ignore without depriving himself of an immense store of historical matter gathered from original documents, and hitherto quite unknown.

Father Paul von Hoensbroech treats of the "most ancient witnesses for the tomb of St. Peter," in refutation of certain theories on St. Peter's Roman episcopate and tomb in Rome, of late adopted by some German Protestant archaeologists against the time-honoured opinion of Catholic divines and antiquaries. Father Lehmkuhl comments on the Pope's Encyclical on "Liberty:" whilst Father Hagen furnishes a readable account of Washington and its scientific institutions: and Father Duhr has an interesting article on "Joan of Arc as judged by Modern Historians," the historians being chiefly the French authors, Fresne de Beaucourt, Marius Sepet, Wallon, &c., who plead for the canonization of their great countrywoman. Father Baumgartner writes on St. Petersburg, tracing a vivid picture of Northern customs, life, and manners, whilst in a second paper he introduces us to Nicolas Gogol, one of the most celebrated literary heroes of young Russia.

3. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).

Professor Schmid treats of the supernatural efficacy of human acts for salvation. Professor Kellner writes on the Roman Procurators in Palestine at the time of Christ. By far the most able article in this number is contributed by Father Grisar, S.J., on the collections of ancient letters of the Popes and their bearing on questions of dogmatic theology. He begins by criticizing the several editions of the Bullarium, and points out their great shortcomings. Even the most recent Bullarium of Turin, published under the auspices of Cardinal Gande, is not at all up to the standard of modern requirements. Next comes a critical examination of the second edition of Jaffé's "*Regesta Romanorum Pontificum*, A.D. 1-1198," just completed in two bulky volumes. Jaffé collected for the first edition 11,000 documents; the second edition, which is the combined work of three German historians, is founded on no less than 17,000 documents. We fully endorse Father Grisar's wish that this second edition may find its way to the library of every

theologian. The editors of it are not spared some severe criticisms on their discriminations between false and genuine letters. Their work, however, deserves great praise, and the services they have rendered to Catholic science, and especially to the Apologists of the Holy See, must not be underrated. Professor Pflugk-Harttung also comes in for great praise for having recently published three volumes of Papal Bulls gathered from Italian archives. Father Grisar's able article would well repay translation into English.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 7 Luglio, 1888.

The Municipal Elections.—This number contains an article on the municipal elections of Rome which took place on the 17th of June, the result of which is celebrated as a splendid victory by the dominant Masonic sect, a new plebiscite affirming the intangibility of Rome as the property of Italy—that is, the Italy of the sect. "It had to be proved," says the *Italia*, "that Rome is not a clerical city, although such a demonstration was not needed [why, then, make it?], since at Rome, and in all Italy, the immense majority of the population is liberal and unionist." "This so-called plebiscite," however, truly observes the *Emancipazione*, "does not represent the principle of liberty, the national sentiment or aspirations after progress, but political imposture and material self-interests." If there was to be a plebiscite, the first thing to be eliminated was anything like compulsion or coercion. Yet never was there such abuse of the engine of force as on this occasion. The *Italia* of Milan says: "The vote of Rome was the evident effect of the concourse of the *employés* to the urns. They were under orders, it is true. No matter—if citizens will not do their duty from love, they must be compelled to do it." There is, indeed, no attempt made to deny the coercion exercised. The *Nazione* says: "In our camp much work has been done, and with unwonted ardour. The authorities began by giving the example of what was felt to be so needful and desirable. The camp of the Government officials was set all of a stir, for it is question there of a phalanx which is able by itself to decide the fate of the battle. The Catholic electors," the *Nazione* asserts, "cannot muster above 8,500, while the Liberals, coming forward as strong as in previous years, provided they be assisted by the full and efficacious alliance of the Government *employés*, may easily form an army of 12,000." And so it was; the compact phalanx of the State officials, brought up by their leaders to the urns and placed in the alternative of doing as they were bid or losing their employment, *freely* voted as they were commanded. To make more sure, or, at any rate, to increase the triumphant majority, the Government at the last moment inscribed on the list of electors the names of 1300 individuals who possessed no title for

figuring there save as being persons on whom Francesco Crispi could rely. Add these apocryphal electors to the host of officials and some three or four thousand Roman Liberals, and the victory is easily explained. But does such a victory, considering its object and the means employed to win it, merit the epithet of *splendid*? It achieves the destruction of communal liberty by a plebiscite of brute force. It is, in fact, a retaliation for the honours recently paid by Rome to the Holy Father, a revenge which has been peremptorily demanded by the Masonic world and, so to say, imposed on its willing instrument, Crispi. The lodges felt that the impression created by the Jubilee celebration had served to open the eyes of many who through weakness had been led seriously to believe in the intangibility of Rome. The palpably unsatisfactory character and formation of the first plebiscite of 1870, with its famous 40,785 ayes against 46 noes, has been continually impelling the Revolution to try and force fresh favourable demonstrations from Roman electors. The *Fanfulla* sorrowfully confesses as much. "We stick at this every year," it writes; "we must needs be for ever calling upon the electors to save Rome from the peril of again falling under the temporal dominion of the Pope. The august word of two kings, expressing the decided will of the nation, the assertion of the honourable Crispi that the question of the temporal power is non-existent for Italy, does not suffice." They have found this out rather late, but better late than never; they have discovered that there are people in Rome who prefer the affirmation of Leo XIII. to that of the man of Ribera, and that the 46 noes of 1870 have risen to 9000, and would be more but for the violence, intrigues, and stratagems of their opponents. And so the Turin paper thus sums up the matter: "The numerical majority of the Government in the elections is a thing unquestionable; but we venture to ask to whom does the moral victory principally belong? This necessity of every year repeating plebiscites, because to assure the intangible conquest not even the 'affirmation of the honourable Crispi' suffices, is a triumph for the Papal cause. We are now at the nineteenth plebiscite; next year the victors will feel the necessity of having recourse to a twentieth."

Beneficence.—The series of articles on Political Economy are continued. The subject treated in this number is Beneficence. The duty of beneficence is shown to be inseparable from the right of property (a right demonstrated in previous articles). It solves a great difficulty arising from the individual appropriation of the soil, an appropriation which necessarily entails a distinction between those who possess and those who do not, between rich and poor, between those who have an abundant superfluity and those who lack even the needful. Now this, as is objected, cannot be in accordance with the will of God, who gave to all, along with existence, a right to the preservation of that existence by the fruits of the earth. Nor does it suffice to say that he who does not possess may supply his wants by labour, for infirmity and old age often deprive him of the ability to toil, or he may fail to get employment through over-

competition. No doubt every man has a right to be nourished by the fruits of the earth, but it is not therefore necessary that all should be common property. On the contrary, not universal plenty, but universal misery, would spring from such a state. Copious production is impossible without good cultivation, nor can this be obtained but by the stimulus of private interests. What is needed is that no one should be excluded from participation in what the earth produces; and this is effected through the virtue of *beneficence*, which causes the rich to give of their superfluity to the poor. The proprietor is bound to do this, as the minister of Divine Providence; and it is by fulfilling this duty that property escapes from the assaults of Socialism. The writer, taking S. Thomas for his guide, proceeds to inquire what is to be understood by superfluity, which must necessarily be a relative term according to a man's social position, but which selfish greed, ambition, pride, and luxurious habits are ever tending to narrow in the estimation of the worldly. For the satisfaction of this and other questions appertaining to the subject we refer the reader to the lucid and concise exposition given by the writer. He shows how religion and Christian charity come in to decide the question, or rather to render its precise decision unnecessary. The charity of Christ in the heart converts the act of natural beneficence into an act of the love of God, and makes it the price of life eternal. We no longer wonder, then, to see among Christian proprietors men who give to the poor without stint, and even without measure—nay, not seldom reduce themselves to penury to relieve the needy.

4 Agosto.

Free Competition.—The subject of the second article on Political Economy is free competition, by which it understands the absolute exclusion of any Governmental intervention in the functions of the economical life of the country. In this respect, it is the complete opposite of the theory of Socialism, which would have capital, labour, and the participation of products entirely under the control of the State. This system is, on the face of it, absurd, absorbing, as it would, by the Government all the individual forces of its subjects. The other system—that of unrestricted competition, the value of which occupies so many minds at the present day—is impartially considered by the writer. He fairly states the *pros* and *cons*, the alleged advantages, and the evils which its ardent advocates seem to overlook. Free competition, he allows, is doubtless favourable to abundant and rapid production, but by no means to equal distribution. Its defenders, he thinks, treating the question in the abstract, regard riches in themselves rather than man whom riches are to benefit. Absolute free trade, he holds, tends to increase the wealth of the rich, but to diminish the sufficiency of the poor, its inevitable result being the reduction of wages. The advocates of free trade view this as simply the result of increased population, and the reason-

ing they adopt might, he says, hold good if capital and population acted like two physical forces, regulated by dynamic laws; whereas they act as moral forces, moved and governed by free-will, and therefore cannot be made the subject of calculations of this sort, but obey passions and interests which ill harmonize together. Unrestricted competition, in short, operates in many ways to the prejudice of the working-class, and becomes the origin of that selfish maxim: to obtain the greatest amount of work with the least possible outlay—viz., by the lowest possible wages. It will be said that what the workman loses in wages is made up to him by the lowering of prices; but it is not so. The one is seldom proportioned to the other; moreover, the fall of prices seldom affects precisely those things which correspond to the working-man's needs. They are, besides, of a fluctuating and uncertain character, and subject to all the tricks and frauds of trade. The writer treats of the grievances of monopoly, which free trade was to abolish; and so it has as regards the monopolies conceded by Government; not so, however, those artificial monopolies which rich capitalists and merchants are able to create. He also deals ably with the question of strikes, the defensive weapon of the oppressed mechanic—a phenomenon unknown to our forefathers, and the offspring of the unbridled competition of our times. The writer does not condemn free competition in a certain measure, without which there would be neither emulation nor progress. True liberty, he says, consists in the faculty of using one's own proper rights without hindrance. The present unbridled licence, as it ought to be called rather than liberty, would place it in the use of material ability, and power—that is, of *force*—used without check. He would, therefore, not dispense entirely with a moderate Governmental protection. "Experience," he says, quoting Sismondi, "has made us feel the need of this protecting authority, in order to hinder a great number of men being sacrificed to the increase of a wealth in which they will never partake." The writer proceeds to advert to specific cases in which he thinks the intervention of the civil power is desirable, in some most imperatively so.

18 Agosto.

Italian Emigration.—Some startling statistics are here furnished with reference to the alarming increase of emigration from Italy. Previous to 1860, although internal migration existed to a certain extent, and this even mostly of a temporary character, rare indeed was the case of families, especially of the rural class, selling their small possessions and crossing the seas to find bread to eat; for it is mainly the agricultural poor and the inhabitants of the small country towns who form the bulk of the present exodus. The Piedmontese began, it is true, to migrate to Algeria in the year 1852; and in 1860 there were already in Algeria 12,755 Italians, mostly natives of the ancient Ligurian and sub-Alpine provinces, which had been the

first to realize the delights of famishing "liberty." But from 1819 to 1855 not more than 1785 Italians had emigrated to the United States, of whom 2995 were subsequent to 1850. Many of these emigrants had, however, gone for commercial purposes, and rather to better themselves than to escape from starvation. Later on the pressure of want has been the prevailing cause of emigration, and its rapid increase among the Neapolitans has steadily accompanied the introduction of so-called modern civilization and liberty. Misery, and nothing else, is the source of the depopulation of so many rural districts throughout the land once deservedly called the garden of Europe. The spectacle is most distressing, and often these wretched emigrants, unable to sell their poor tenements, will abandon them, leaving the doors open and the keys hanging on a nail. Setting aside all notice of such emigrants as leave their country with any prospect or purpose of a return, however distant, we shall find, by consulting the list that is given, that, whereas in 1876 there were only 19,756 emigrants (already a much increased proportion over that of previous years), their number had risen in 1886 to 85,355. We have been so ingenious, said the senator Jacini in January 1880, that we may be said to have exhausted all known fiscal devices, and nothing remains but to tax the air we breathe. And, earlier still, the Conte di Sambuy declared in the Chamber that the Italian taxpayer was reduced for food to a squeezed orange.

Even the Liberal economists have taken the alarm, and on the 15th of December, 1887, Crispi presented to the Chamber a Bill to hinder emigration. Notwithstanding the specious pretexts of checking abuses by which it is sought to veil it, it can be styled nothing less than a most cruel and tyrannical law, devised to deprive Italians of the liberty of seeking a livelihood where they will. What with the lavish waste of public money and grinding taxation, everything has been done to starve the people and drive them to desperation; and, when this people would escape from death by abandoning their paternal roofs and seeking other lands, it is actually intended to chain them down to die perforce on their native soil! We have here, we may well say, the most bitter outrage that can be offered to the natural right of every man born into this world to the food needful for the support of his life.

Notices of Books.

St. Peter, Bishop of Rome ; or, the Roman Episcopate of the Prince of the Apostles. Proved from the Fathers, History, and Archæology, and illustrated by arguments from other sources. By the Rev. T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R. London : Burns & Oates.

WE have nothing but a warm welcome and praise for this learned, opportune, and useful work. Father Livius has here done what was urgently called for by the persistent perversion of historical truth as to the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter. We find misrepresentation on this point spreading through Protestant histories, text-books, magazines, and cheap penny prints. The authors of such misrepresentations know well how much depends on this great historical fact. Indeed, as Father Livius well remarks :—

The question of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate is one not merely as to the bare actual occurrence of something alleged to have happened in the past—as is that of every other historical event—but is also one of a great moral fact. In treating of this question, we have to deal, not with some still-born and lifeless occurrence without results, which is no more heard of, but with a complex living fact, informed with moral principle and vitality, that enters into the order of thought and of theological truth, and into the domain of practical conduct, religion, and politics. It purports to have its original source in Divine revelation, to be the result and realization of an express promise of Christ through Peter to His Church, or, rather, to be the divinely appointed mode whereby that promise, which affects the essential constitution of the Church, is carried into actual effect. Its energy as a living moral fact is manifest in all time since its first origin, both from the results of its own active operation and from the constantly prevalent belief of Christendom, both as to its material occurrence and its formal character. It is ever big with great consequences, momentous to the doctrine, religion, and discipline of the Church, as well as to the political principles and action of the entire Christian society. Throughout successive ages it has held its place in the minds and hearts of millions of the faithful—as still with all Catholics at the present day—not as though it were simply some isolated material event of past history that happened on a time and once for all, but as an ever-present principle influential for religious belief and practice (Introduction xi.).

With this view before him, Father Livius has given us an important and invaluable work which will go a great way, we believe, to show up the emptiness or fallacy of the Protestant arguments on this question. His book is divided into three parts. The first part may be said to be a reproduction of Professor Jungmann's learned dissertation, "*De Sede Romana S. Petri Principis Apostolorum.*" Father Livius could not have done better than give us this excellent "*Dissertatio,*" which is distinguished by all that erudition, clearness,

and lucid exposition for which the well-known professor is famous. Father Livius has shown his good judgment and anxiety to benefit the general reader by giving cited passages from the Fathers in full. He wishes by this method to put the entire historical argument plainly before the honest inquiring mind, in order that truth may be the more easily attained. It needs only a calm unprejudiced mind to read carefully the whole of the patristic and historical evidence, as it is patiently gathered together in this excellent work, to feel satisfied that the truth advocated of St. Peter's Roman bishopric cannot honestly be denied.

The second part sets forth the evidences of the same great fact from archaeology. The author here makes use of the very learned and interesting work of Provost Northcote and Canon Brownlow. That work is well known to be most reliable in every way, and the result of much conscientious labour. Father Livius draws most excellent arguments for his position from the various inscriptions, symbols, and other archaeological facts discovered in the different catacombs and cemeteries. He makes the sculpture, the gilded glasses, and the paintings of the catacombs speak with a loud clear voice which tells us, in unmistakeable words, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. And it is not easy to see how Anglicans, who express such anxiety to study the records of the early ages and to follow their teaching, can escape the cogency of these archaeological proofs of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and Primacy. As Father Livius well says:—

Anglicans, for the most part, profess to follow as their guide the teaching of the Early Church, and do so on the ground that what was of primitive belief and practice, so far as this is ascertainable, forms the best and safest criterion of genuine apostolic truth. Now, if from the evidence in the catacombs, they apply this principle to other matters of primitive Christianity, they are bound, would they be consistent, on the same grounds and by the same process of reasoning, to apply it also to the doctrine regarding St. Peter; for the monuments of Christian antiquity in Rome bear witness at least as clear and explicit to the early belief of St. Peter's Primacy and Roman Episcopate as they do to that of any other of the points enumerated—Blessed Trinity and Incarnation, the Fall and Redemption, Our Lord's birth, life, death, &c., &c.—and, so far, by consequence, are proofs of the real objective truth of these doctrinal facts.

This same belief, embodied, as we have seen, in so many material memorials of active zeal, piety and devotion, during the first centuries, shows itself so sturdy and vigorous a stem as to make us quite sure, on the one hand, that its roots lie deep down, and that it can have derived its origin from nought else but the Divine word of Christ Himself, and to secure us from much wonder, on the other hand, when ere long this same stem is seen grown up into the trunk of a great tree stretching forth its branches to the ends of the earth, and yielding its fruit in all generations for the healing of the nations. It rises as a firm column based upon a foundation so solid, even upon a rock, that we marvel not when we behold it bearing up, not only the whole building of the Church's faith and ecclesiastical polity, but sustaining also the thrones of temporal princes, and the entire edifice of social order and Christian civilization, by reason of its strength.

In truth, the evidences that now shine forth from the darkness of the catacombs, where they for so long lay buried, are to our mind so clear and conclusive that, were there no written testimony of antiquity still surviving, these alone would suffice for confirmations and proofs, in the historical order, of the objective reality of the Petrine facts as they have been handed down and believed through Catholic tradition (p. 179).

The third part of this work contains a series of useful and excellent chapters supplying us with various arguments on many subjects relative to St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. The author, though he may justly claim the principal merit of this third part of his valuable work, yet acknowledges his indebtedness to such writers as Blessed John Fisher, Baronius, Murray, Döllinger, Cajetan, Franzelin, Mr. Allies, and others. We very warmly recommend this learned and most useful work. It is, in every sense, a valuable work, and appears very opportunely at the present moment, stating, as it does, the arguments for St. Peter's Roman Episcopate with clearness and cogency, and illustrating them with a wealth of patristic and learned testimony. The Catholic controversialist, and, indeed, any intelligent Catholic reader, will find it worth while to have the volume at hand for reference.

Moral Philosophy ; or, Ethics and Natural Law. By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. London: Longmans. 1888.

THIS is the first instalment of a very important issue of original works on Catholic philosophy. Under the editorship of the Rev. Father Clarke, certain well-qualified members of the Society of Jesus propose to publish a series of manuals in English, which will fairly present to the ordinary reader the course of logics, metaphysics, and morals, which they are accustomed to impart to their own scholastics. It is a most useful enterprise, and, if it be well carried out, it will be of the greatest advantage to the priests and laity of English-speaking countries.

The handy volume before us is by the Rev. Father Joseph Rickaby, who informs us that it embodies the substance of a course which he has delivered for eight years in succession to the scholastics of the Society at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. It consists of about 400 pages, and is divided into two principal divisions, "Ethics" and "Natural Law." Under the first head we have chapters on "Happiness," "Human Acts," "Passions," "Habits and Virtues," "The Origin of Moral Obligation," "Conscience," &c. The second division includes "Duties to God," "The Duty of Preserving Life," "Of Speaking the Truth," "Charity," "Rights," "Property," &c.

Nearly all the perplexed questions of morality lie at the very root of the science. What is moral good, or moral evil? Why am I bound to choose the one and reject the other? Why must I follow my conscience? Can I ever be happy, and, if I can, ought happiness to be my aim and object? Any one who has traversed such a

dreary waste of speculation as, for example, Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Science of Ethics," knows the sort of hesitating, vague, and unsatisfactory essay-writing which does duty in modern days for ethics. Father Rickaby assumes the existence of an almighty and infinitely good God. Without God man cannot be explained; and this is true even of that natural order to which the writer, as we need not say, confines himself. The desire of happiness is an absolute characteristic of human nature; that nature is illuminated by a persistent, if fitfully shining, light of moral direction; and both this desire of happiness and the existence of this moral intuition point to a future life and an almighty Maker and Preserver. Happiness, as Father Rickaby well proves, must consist in the employment of the intellectual part of our nature, under congenial circumstances. But this means a certain calm and restful knowledge of God in the life to come.

The problem of Moral Obligation is not, to our mind, so well reasoned out as the consideration on Happiness. Father Rickaby admits that Moral Obligation finally rests on the unreasonableness of doing violence to one's nature as a reasonable being (p. 115). But he says that something more is required to constitute *sin*. "Sin is more than folly, more than a breach of reason." Sin is the breach of a law. Now a man cannot "give commands to himself." This seems a needless refinement. A man's conscience or moral discernment seems without contradiction to have all the binding force of a law upon his whole nature. The fact that he dictates of his own nature are only transcripts of the essential will of God simply proves that you cannot assert his reason to be, in the *real* order, the ultimate rule of right and wrong; it does not prove that it is not an adequate law as far as the man himself is concerned. Therefore to contravene it is *sin*. And it seems evident that the savage, who has only a dim conception of a God, can yet commit sin by acting against his natural conscience. Neither is this to say that morality is "independent" of God. Our natural perceptions are the law of God written in our hearts.

The chapters on the "Eternal Law" and on "Conscience" are very good and complete. We are not quite so well pleased with Father Rickaby's treatment of such questions as Property, Law, War, and Civil Power. Perhaps the limits of space have made him too short and summary on these subjects.

The style of the book is bright and easy, and the English (as we need not say) extremely good. The writer is, throughout, a little too short and smart. There is also some apparent straining after effect, and a certain affectation in quotation and reference. But these are excusable defects when the object is to rouse and sustain attention in abstract discussion. The manual will be welcome on all sides as a sound, original, and fairly complete English treatise on the groundwork of morality.

Kirchenlexicon von WETZER und WELTE. Zweite Auflage von Cardinal HERGENROETHER und Professor KAULEN. Fünfter Band. Friburg: Herder. 1888.

THIS fifth volume of the great "*Kirchenlexicon*" contains not less than 2112 closely printed columns. The work deserves the attention of English scholars, because it is representative of the progress made by Catholic science in Germany, under the guidance of the Holy See, and particularly since the Vatican Council. Every article has been affected in some way by this happy change among German Catholic scholars; particularly noticeable being the reform in philosophy and the increasing influence of St. Thomas; as may be seen, for example, in the articles on Guenther, Herbart, Goerres, Hegel, and Herder. But all the articles are written up to the most recent historical investigation—*e.g.*, those headed Galilaeo, Hexen, Hexen-process, &c. Due attention is given to religious movements outside the Church, as is evidenced by the articles on the "*Salvation Army*" (*Heilsarmee*) and "*Gustav-Adolf-Verein*." The liturgy of the Church is fully treated: and Canon Law and the customs prevalent in Catholic Germany receive exceptionally careful treatment. This fifth volume extends from Gaal to Himmel; seven more volumes are to follow.

BELLESHEIM.

Saint Maurice et la Légion Thébéenne. Par BERNARD DE MONTMÉLIAN. Two vols. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

THE story of the Thebean Legion is of dramatic interest. The slaughter in cold blood of some six thousand six hundred Roman soldiers by their pagan companions in arms, for the name of Christ, is surely a thrilling episode of Christian history; whilst the obscurity resting over the circumstances of the event, the uncertainty as to date and other particulars, the silence of contemporaneous historians, are difficulties that pique the interest of the student; to which must be added the sceptical attacks of the Centuriators and subsequent Protestant writers. These have laid stress on the improbability of the slaughter of so many soldiers of one legion for Christ being passed over in silence by authors of the next two centuries, such as Lactantius, Sulpicius Severus, and Prudentius—just the ones to whom one would look for mention of such an event. They have pointed to the language used by Eucher, Bishop of Lyons, the one author on whose testimony the martyrdom rests. Eucher wrote more than a century and a quarter after the date assigned for the martyrdom, and then he related only what he had heard from Isaac of Geneva, who in turn had only heard it from Theodore of Octodurum. In spite of all this, however, the majority of Catholic critics—*e.g.*, the Bollandists—accept the story in its chief details; and they are joined by many of the most eminent Protestant historians. The martyrs have found in the Abbé de Montmélian a new and enthu-

siastic champion. He enters into the question of details and pre-disposes of difficulties by a well-argued narrative of the event, founded on the results of the soundest criticism. Following M. de Rivaz, whose work on the martyrs he warmly eulogizes, he places the date of their death at the 22nd of September, A.D. 302. This is later than the generally accepted date (A.D. 286) held by Labbe, Alban Butler, and others, who place the martyrdom at Octodurum, in the Valais, as Maximilian marched to Gaul on his expedition against the Bagundae. Our author shows that this legion was not formed until A.D. 292, and that the soldiers suffered on the march from Cologne to Italy. He shows clearly that they suffered death, not for illegal revolt, but for conscience sake; and on this he lays great stress. Their story is, he says, "une page détachée de la lutte qui dure depuis dix-huit siècles entre l'Eglise et l'Etat," &c. The author does not find much difficulty in establishing the value of Eucher's narrative, of which he gives a translation; with the Latin original in the Appendix. The second half of this interesting work traces a wonderful picture of the impression made over the Christian world by the fame of the martyrdom. Saint Maurice and his companions have been constantly honoured in nearly every country of Europe, more especially in Switzerland, Savoy, Burgundy, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and parts of Germany. The work much needs an index.

The Skein Unravell'd: a Course of Lectures on the Main Points of Christianity. By the Very Rev. Canon DUCKETT, D.D. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1888.

THE "Skein Unravell'd" comprises a course of nine lectures delivered by Canon Duckett in St. John's Catholic Church, Norwich. They deal with Atheism, the necessity and proof of Divine Revelation, the existence and nature of the Church, and the prerogatives of the Pope. The objections are fairly put and convincingly answered. The lectures are just the thing to put into the hands of sincere inquirers.

Theologia Moralis juxta doctrinam S. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio, Doctoris Ecclesiae. Auctore, JOS. AERTNYS, C.S.S.R. Tomi duo. Tornaci: H. Casterman. 1886.

THE writer of this elaborate Moral Theology mentions in his preface the reasons which make him follow the holy Doctor S. Alphonsus. One of them is curious; it is because St. Alphonsus says (in his "Monitum Auctoris") that he himself always took great care to prefer reason to authority. "Look," said the Saint (in his *Dissertatio*), "at the long war between the Scotists and the Thomists; during all that time not a Scotist held Thomist doctrine, and not a Thomist Scotist. Yet if any given Franciscan had happened to be a Dominican he would have opposed Scotus tooth and nail. And on

the other hand, if a Dominican had been a Franciscan, he would have been quite as absolute against St. Thomas. It was certainly not *reason* that prompted this." These are words which even a Redemptorist might mark and digest. The well-worn discussion about the absolution of *recidivi* might, we think, have been treated with somewhat more conciliation, and therefore more reasonableness, than we find at p. 187 of the second volume. "Laxistae" are referred to, and Sanchez, Faure, and Ballerini are set down as "theologi remissiores." The ordinary eye cannot see much difference between "extraordinary" signs of sorrow, and "real and genuine" signs of sorrow—as far as the Sacrament of Penance is concerned. And when the so-called "laxist" lays down that you are justified in believing what your back-sliding penitent tells you about his dispositions, he means after, not *before*, you have done your best to dispose him properly.

This work, written by an intimate friend of the late Father Konings, is intended as a text-book, and not as a mere compendium. There are, however, far too few definite references; indeed, except to St. Alphonsus, there may be said to be none. Still, it is clearly written, sensible, and fairly complete. The greater number of modern questions will be found treated. Some of the great theologico-medical questions of the day might have been discussed at greater length. The definition of "Drunkenness" is hardly complete (if drunkenness is a sin); and it is difficult to see how, on the author's principles, "quiet" drunkards could be guilty of mortal sin. Again, he seems too rigid in his decisions as to the use of chloroform and morphia. In regard to *communicatio in sacris*, why does he not answer a question constantly asked in England and America—"Can Catholic servants attend prayers in a non-Catholic house?" Why, again, does he not tell us whether the "Index" is binding in these countries? He decides that a Bishop may grant a private oratory for once in a way if there be a grave and urgent cause; but the further question whether the Bishop could validly deny to the faithful the right to fulfil the Sunday obligation in such an oratory would have opened an interesting dispute. The great value of the work, like that of Father Marc's, is that it sets forth the opinions of St. Alphonsus, as gathered from the widest acquaintance with his works. We are pleased to see that the author is, to our mind, more accurate than Father Marc in formulating the holy doctor's theory of Probabilism.

Meditations for Every Day of the Year. From the "Christian Considerations" of Father JOHN CRASSET, S.J. Translated and edited by the Very Rev. T. B. SNOW, O.S.B. Two vols. London: R. Washbourne. 1888.

FATHER CRASSET was a contemporary of Thomassin, Du Cange, and Dom D'Achery at Paris in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The *Meditations* which he published (about

1678), under the name of "*Considérations Chrétiennes*," were translated—in part at least—into English some seven years later, whilst their author was still living, at a time when the English Court was Catholic. The two volumes before us are a complete version of the work, founded on the English translation referred to. Father Snow has preserved a curious feature of the old translation—the epigrammatic brevity of all the sentences and the printing of each in a line of its own, like verse. Here are some examples :—

The judgments of God are terrible,
But His mercies are infinite.
It is good to fear,
But it is better to hope, &c. (i. 80.)

O happy Simeon!
Who carried the Cross of Jesus.
Christians, it is in your power,
To have the same honour as he had.
All our crosses are pieces of His Cross,
They have touched His soul or His body (i. 297.)

O Jesus, my Saviour!
How can I value humility
If I so dislike humiliation?
No humiliation, no humility.
Give me humility at any price,
If it cost me honour and life (ii. 272.)

It is obvious that this method of writing and printing a meditation has many advantages. It enables the eye to seize without difficulty the thought or the prayer; unnecessary words are kept out; and a certain solemn impressiveness is imparted to the matter proposed. The only drawback is that neither the matter nor the language is uniformly on such a level as to render this "blank verse" form always suitable. More than once, when you expect elevation and distinction, you stumble on the common-place. But a meditation, to be useful, must be occasionally practical and homely. And Father Crasset's matter is so scriptural, so full of Our Lord, so devotional, that it is wonderful how well his phrases lend themselves to this unusual form. At the same time these volumes contain real and genuine "*meditations*," each one worked out thoroughly on the method of St. Ignatius, ranging over every subject which the soul needs to dwell upon. The scriptural texts at the beginning of each are a very acceptable feature. Those who dread having to wade through an indefinite extent of prose before they can secure their "*points*" will welcome this novel and helpful manual. Its cheapness—the two volumes of over 400 pages apiece being only eight shillings the two—will also recommend it. Father Snow has prefixed a useful introduction, containing instructions on Meditation, and one or two biographical notes.

St. Mary's Convent, York. Edited, with a preface, by HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

IF St. Mary's Convent, York, had no other title to our interest than the fact that it has stood on the same spot since two years before William III. landed in England, this history would be welcome. The book, printed by the Rev. Father Coleridge in his "Quarterly" series, is full of facts and memories connected with Catholic history during the last two hundred years. The house which now meets the eye of the visitor as he emerges from Railway Street, after skirting the ancient walls of York, received its present appearance about 1788—but it had been substantially there a century earlier. After the reader gets clear of some rather intricate, but most necessary, genealogical details, he finds himself assisting with Mother Frances Bedingfield at the purchase of the site in 1686. The real founder was the Venerable Sir Thomas Gascoyne, the stout Yorkshire baronet who confessed his faith before the persecutors during the Oates plot, and died in the Benedictine Abbey of Lamspring in 1689, in his ninety-fourth year. The "Institute of Mary" has a curious history, which those who have read the "Life of Mary Ward" (published in two recent volumes of the same series) will follow out here with eagerness. The names of those connected with the house at York suggest to the memory nearly every great Catholic family of the North of England. They had to carry out their religious life as best they could. Their dress in 1737 was a "slate-coloured gown," with a cap and hood. They did not dare to address each other, even at home, as "mother" or "sister." They were liable to visitation from the Lord Mayor and the Archbishop; and it is related how a certain Dr. Jacques Sterne, Canon of York—the narrative does not mention that he was uncle to a more famous Dr. Sterne who held the living of Coxwold, not many miles away—waited on the Rev. Mother in 1748, and threatened them with the penal law. Dr. Sterne afterwards became their very good friend. Indeed, the York authorities, on the whole, gave them very little trouble, and were more than once exceptionally kind, like that Lord Mayor to whom the Mother Superior presented a silver snuff-box. The boarding-school of St. Mary's is too well known to require notice. A list of over 2000 names of pupils who have belonged to the convent between 1710 and the present date is given at the end of the book. But the annals of the "Institute" as a religious body are even more interesting. It was here that Mary Aikenhead, by desire of Archbishop Murray, went through that religious training which ended in her transferring the Rule of the Institute of Mary to the fertile soil of Ireland, under the title of the Irish Sisters of Charity; and it was at St. Mary's, also, that Frances Ball made her novitiate, by the wish of the same prelate, and whence she carried home the statutes of the well-known and widely spread "Loretto Nuns"—who are simply the "Institute of Mary" under another name.

The book will be found delightful reading. It is full of anecdote, of personal traits, and of quaint details; it is skilfully put together, and easily written. It is rarely that we can quarrel with the annalist's English, as we feel inclined to do when she uses the word "superiority" instead of "superiorship." No old pupil of York will be without this record of a unique House; and to the general reader it supplies details in the history of Yorkshire Catholicism, and side-lights on the manners and customs of our ancestors, which will be very highly appreciated.

Essays, Chiefly in Poetry. By AUBREY DE VERE, LL.D.
Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE chief attraction in these volumes of reprinted essays—which have remained too long unnoticed—is the elaborate discussion of the character and genius of Wordsworth. Mr. de Vere knew Wordsworth personally. At the age of eighteen, his father, Sir Aubrey de Vere, had taught him to admire the great poet. Afterwards, about eight years before Wordsworth's death, Mr. de Vere made his acquaintance. "During the next four years," he says, "I saw a great deal of him, chiefly amidst his own mountains; and besides many delightful walks with him, I had the great honour of passing some days under his own roof" (vol. ii. p. 275). A man may be excused for being somewhat enthusiastic about a bard who has read his own poetry to him. But if we can trace in Mr. de Vere's three essays just a suspicion of hero-worship, his strong and sympathetic intelligence has all the same given us in these pages certainly the best criticism on the master which it has been our good fortune to read. Mr. de Vere dedicates his first essay to a demonstration of Wordsworth's "passion"—a quality of his verse which it is the fashion to under-estimate. "Not only," he says, "is the chief characteristic (of Wordsworth's poetry) the power with which it simultaneously exhibits human nature and material nature in their mutual action and re-action, but also in dealing with this, his favourite theme, his genius, so far from being cold, an admission often made even by his admirers, is habitually under the influence of poetic passion in its highest and rarest forms" (vol. i. p. 107). That Wordsworth, at first, laid himself open to the charge of affectation in his search for simplicity, is hardly to be denied. But it is true that he triumphantly showed how much manliness and human interest there is in the commonest themes, and gave the world a splendid demonstration that poetic language may be true and genuine without being dry or trivial. It may be admitted that "passion," in the sense of sensuous instinct or sensational energy of phrase, is rarely to be found in these pure and lofty poems; but passion, in the sense of "moral" passion—the sense of the terrible, of the pitiful, of the pathetic—the sense

of man's nobler aspirations thwarted by circumstance or promoted by his surroundings—all this you find in abundance in such poems as "Margaret," or "The Solitary," or "Matthew," or "The Old Cumberland Beggar," and most of all, perhaps, in the "Leech-gatherer."

It is only a very superficial reader who can see in this poem nothing but natural description and a moral purpose. The poem is passion also, and passion in its highest form—the passion of the intellect and of the spirit in their soarings and sinkings; the passion of the imagination that moulds all the aspects of Nature, so as to be the mirror of its own varying moods, now making to itself palpable monsters out of her most casual aspects, now resolving her plainest objects into dream that it may walk unembarrassed through worlds as visionary as its own. It is the fusing power of passion which imparts to this poem its perfect harmony of colouring, and converts into a spirit-moving reality that which, had its inner meanings proceeded from the didactic intellect alone, must have presented itself with all the coldness that belongs to allegory. The language is throughout the language of passion—not declamatory passion, but passion steadied by its own weight (vol. i. p. 132).

A very interesting selection of extracts from every period of Wordsworth's poetry illustrates Mr. de Vere's exposition of these views, and if the essay did nothing else it would serve as a kind of Wordsworth gallery, in which many of his choicest gems are set before the reader, and "criticized," in the highest sense of the word, with the intelligence of a highly educated mind and the insight of a truly poetic temperament.

The second essay on Wordsworth discusses the "Wisdom and Truth" of his poetry. These qualities Mr. de Vere illustrates successively in their relations with man's moral nature, with political morality, with poetry, science, and progress, and with the exterior universe. In this paper the purity of the poet's verse is well brought out, as also his high conception of duty, his lofty moral insight, and his personal religiousness. It is no less elaborately wrought out and attractive than the former. The two together form an introduction to Wordsworth, which must prove extremely valuable—for instance, to teachers and students. At the same time, it is just possible that Mr. de Vere may here contribute to a false and misleading estimate of his favourite poet. Poetry cannot supply religion. The essence of poetry is that intellectual sculpture of the naturally beautiful and true which affects our human susceptibilities. But this goes only a very short way in making a man pray continually, mortify his passions, submit to teaching, or humble his head to sacraments. Poetry, if made too much of, rather substitutes emotion for virtue; and that "moral" emotion, which the Wordsworthian poetry promotes, if it is somewhat nearer to Christian virtue than other emotion, is not the less useless as a substitute. Mr. de Vere considers that Christianity is "zealously asserted" in Wordsworth's maturer poetry, and obviously implied in the whole of it. But, besides that the Protestant poet's views of Christianity are necessarily fragmentary and inadequate

—for he never mentions the Crucifix, the Real Presence, or the supernatural holiness of the saints—you can no more be a Christian by a poetic view of Nature than you can plant trees by waving your hands from a hill-top. The latter process may be useful in its way, but some natures have a tendency to think it is all that is required. As to Mr. de Vere's own sentiments, nothing need be said; more especially after reading the beautiful essay which he has here republished on Mr. Healy Thompson's "Life of St. Aloysius."

The paper on Spencer is worth reading by those who have read Spencer—and even more, perhaps, by those who have not. The rest of the volume is made up chiefly of criticisms on Sir Henry Taylor and W. S. Landor.

Jesu's Psalter. With Chant. By Rev. SAMUEL HEYDON SOLE.
London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

THIS is a book of the most valuable and interesting sort, and whether as a contribution to Catholic history, to philology, or to devotion, it may be most cordially welcomed. Father Sole traces the history of that beautiful and popular prayer, so well known to our fathers, the "Jesus Psalter." It is a prayer familiar to many of us from our youth—from times when it seemed almost to supply for Benediction in so many places where scattered families or even country congregations could not have the privilege of visiting Our Lord in His sacramental presence. It was then that the repetition of the sacred name brought a kind of eucharistic manifestation into the midst of the little flock, and the rhythm and cadence of the balanced prayer seemed like incense which was offered to His throne. But the version of the "Garden of the Soul" was only an adaptation of a far older, and in some respects a far more devotional, form. "The abbreviation," says Father Sole, "must be regarded, I fear, as its only merit. Beautiful as it is, its beauty is what remains to it of its true form; and its wilful departure from the essential structure of the Psalter, which had been kept sacred through a century and more of terrible persecution, does, in the mind of the present editor, condemn it wholly" (Preface, p. 22).

Father Sole prints three versions of this Psalter. The first is from a MS. now at Manresa, which is probably a transcript of an older copy. The Manresa MS. is dated 1571. In this version the sacred name is repeated *thirty times* with each petition. There are fifteen petitions. The second version here reprinted is from the well-known book, the "Manual"—the copy Father Sole uses bearing the date 1589. It hardly differs from the former. The third version is simply a modernization, carried out in the gentlest and most reverential spirit, of the ancient form, preserving as far as possible the structure, rhythm, and rhyme of the author himself. That author was no other than Richard Whytford, a Brigittin of Syon House. Whytford, who was a prolific writer, was a friend of Erasmus,

and a master of the English tongue—as may be seen by his version of the “Imitation,” re-edited a few years ago by Dom Wilfrid Raynal. Father Sole, in a long, learned, and most interesting preface, discusses not only the origin and fate of the Psalter, but the life and history of its author, together with the proofs of authorship. This noblest of English prayers seems to have been first used in the household of Lord Mountjoy, where Whytford was chaplain, during the reign of Queen Mary, when there were hopes that the old religion would be as it had been. But its fate was to be used by the persecuted and the exiled, and to comfort the sorrowful and the fearful, during three centuries, even to our own day, when we may hope that its power and unction will continue to be as deeply felt as ever in the past.

The Practice of Humility. By our Holy Father POPE LEO XIII. Translated from the Italian by Dom JOSEPH JEROME VAUGHAN, O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

The Practice of Humility. By his Holiness POPE LEO XIII. Translated from the Italian by Monsignor GEORGE F. DILLON. Turin: L. Romano; London: Burns & Oates; Dublin: M. H. Gill.

THESE two translations are, in a literary and publishing sense, rivals. Whilst confessing that we prefer Father Vaughan's as being somewhat more “English,” it is only just to say that they are both very good, and both evidently very faithful to the original. Readers may do more than satisfy a laudable curiosity by procuring this little tract on humility, written by our Holy Father for his seminarists when he was Archbishop of Perugia. It is practical, orderly, devout, and efficacious in touching the heart. It is so orderly—a quality not always found in small spiritual books—that the translators might easily have given a “heading” to each of the sixty paragraphs into which it is divided. There is little—perhaps nothing—which specially regards the ecclesiastical student. The subject of studies seems never to be touched upon. The book is therefore a manual for all Christians, being an exposition of the practical side of that humility which is the foundation of the whole spiritual life. Both translators have prefixed short prefaces. Dom Vaughan mentions that he undertook his work with the “special permission and blessing” of the illustrious author. Monsignor Dillon has brought out his version at the desire of the Bishop of Casale, to whom the treatise was paternally recommended by Pope Leo himself, in March 1887. Monsignor Dillon states that translations are being made into every European language, and that the book has been taken up in Italy itself with the most striking eagerness. The brief manual concludes with extracts from St. Augustine and several other saints who have written on humility. There is little in the volume which will throw

much light on the inner personality of the present Pontiff; but such a phrase as "Never wish to be singularly loved," which introduces paragraph xxvi., may perhaps be read as the revelation of an unusually affectionate nature which has resolved to repress mere human feeling and to act as far as possible on supernatural motives. Dom Vaughan, as becomes a good Benedictine, notices how the sermon here quoted from St. Augustine contains the originals of some of St. Benedict's famous sentences on humility; and, though he does not say so, he would clearly have been more happy if the Holy Father had alluded to the seventh chapter of the great Rule. He has a note referring to Dante's description of Pope S. Celestine as the one who made "*il gran rifiuto*;" but it is by no means certain that Dante in this passage intends to designate that holy Pope.

Compendium Sacrae Liturgiae. Scripsit P. INNOCENTIUS WAPLEHORST, O.S.F. Neo-Eboraci, &c.: Benziger Fratres. 1887.

THIS is a Latin treatise, by a Franciscan Father, of the United States, setting forth the rubrics of the Mass, the rite of private and solemn Masses, vespers, the administration of the Sacraments, the Divine office, Pontifical functions of various kinds, processions, &c., together with general notions on the liturgy, and its mystical significance. It is fairly complete, though in some parts necessarily very brief. There are many useful hints for English-speaking priests. It is distinguished by clearness and good sense. There are always points in a manual of rubrics which may be discussed. For example, our author would have shown courage if he had got rid of that distinction between *preceptive* and *directive* rubrics which has, we venture to say, much mental confusion to answer for. We are told (p. 3) that "preceptive" rubrics are those which bind in conscience under sin, "directive" those which are "expressed as a recommendation, and give directions and instructions for the more suitable way of acting, and which, *per se*, do not bind under sin, unless there is scandal, contempt, or an innovating intention." There can be no doubt that St. Alphonsus made this distinction, in name at least. But it is equally true that many of the rubrics, which, as being *extra missam*, he considered merely "directive," he held to bind under sin; as for example to omit matins and lauds before saying mass (without reasonable cause), to neglect the prayers appointed at vesting, &c. The view which the holy Doctor seems to uphold—although his words are a little puzzling—is that there are rubrics which are grave, and rubrics which are comparatively unimportant: that the rubrics outside of the Mass are not grave, but yet are real commands, and that there are also, within the Mass, rubrics which are not grave, and which a really good reason may excuse from. The author seems to say that "directive" rubrics are expressed in the form of advice, such as "*ad arbitrium*," "*pro opportunitate*." And then he says

that, to speak generally, the rubrics regarding what is "outside Mass" are probably "directive" only, unless there is other evidence of a command. But what other evidence of a command could be had which would be clearer than the fact of the thing being a rubric of the Roman missal? There is no need to say that a counsel is not a command, but it would seem to follow quite as clearly that a command is a command.

It is not clear why, at p. 55, it is laid down absolutely that in private *Requiem* Masses the prayer *Deus qui inter* must always be said as the first prayer. Many authorities, and among others Merati and Cavalieri, hold that it is conformable to the rubrics to say in the first place the prayer corresponding to the application of the Mass.

In the rite for the visitation of public churches, it would have been well to notice—if the writer was aware of it—that in 1866 Cardinal Barnabò approved of joining together the two absolutions for the dead, in places where there are no cemeteries. The absolution at the altar would in that case be the only one given, and the two Collects prescribed for the cemetery would be added. This modification is very necessary at most visitations, where there is little enough time to get through everything, and where the choirs do not generally shine in singing the *Libera*.

Whether the altar-candles may be sometimes of another material than bees-wax is a question clearly treated by the writer. No candles except wax candles can be placed on the altar or over it—that is, on the super-altar. All the candles prescribed in a function, such as acolytes' candles, "torches," &c., must be wax. But he does not decide the further question, whether other candles may not be used in the sanctuary. As to the difficulty about white and yellow wax, he quietly declares that it is matter of indifference whether one or the other is used, the rubrics making no distinction. This is true with some slight exceptions. The *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* prescribes "common," that is, unbleached wax, for *Tenebrae* and for Good Friday. As this kind of wax is not prescribed for Advent and Lent, the author seems going a little beyond the rubric in recommending them at such times.

A few other remarks might be made, but the book is solid and good, and ought to prove of the greatest utility to the clergy generally, bringing together, as it does, in one volume a vast number of liturgical subjects.

Hylomorphism of Thought-Being. Part I. By REV. THOMAS
QUENTIN FLEMING.

MANY, no doubt, on hearing the title of this book will wonder what "hylomorphism" means, but those who have studied the Scholastic theory of "matter and form" will understand that "hylomorphism" denotes the formation of a compound from two

principles, one active, the other passive. In the course of these ten essays on the formation of "thought," the Rev. Father Fleming advances and develops the theory that, just as bodies are said to be composed of two elements, called "matter" and "form," so also our thoughts are made up of two constituents, which from their nature and characteristics may be styled "the matter" and "the form," or as the author puts it, "the hylic monad" and "the morphic monad," of our concepts. His reason for advancing this theory may be summed up in a few words. Thought is a true representation of an object; as, then, bodies or beings outside the mind present a hylomorphic formation, the representation of them in the mind should show a similar process of formation. The idea or perceptual representation, the "species intelligibilis" of the Scholastics, when acted upon by the reflective intellect, is the "form," "the morphic monad" of the concept, while the adequate intrinsic possibility, which the reflective intellect supplies, is the "matter," "the hylic monad." Hence it will be perceived that the functions of the intellectual memory are of vast importance in the formation of thought, seeing that the "form" is, if not always, at least most frequently, derived from the memory, the storehouse of past ideas. The subject of these essays opens up a wide field for philosophical investigation, and should prove highly interesting to those who delight in analogy. All reasoning on the nature of thought requires diligent study and patient observation of the working of the intellect, and Father Fleming's book gives abundant evidence that the author has neglected neither the one nor the other. Those who study this treatise on the Theory of Thought will find the marginal notes of great service, as they enable one to follow all the steps and stages of reasoning.

Logic, or the Morphology of Knowledge. By BERNARD BOSANQUET, M.A. Two vols. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1888.

THESE two elaborate volumes are an attempt, by a distinguished metaphysical scholar, to propound a system of Logic. They are very tough reading, but that is perhaps a necessary consequence of their subject. The process of "Naming," says Mr. Bosanquet, "as known to our reflective thought, is to adopt an individual element of language as the instrument of intellectual reference to an individual identity in the knowable world" (i. 15). There are plenty of sentences like this. Mr. Bosanquet's main view, as far as we can gather, is that naming is practically the first step in knowledge, that naming implies some degree of Distinction and Identification, that Judgment merely develops and carries out such Distinction and Identification, and that Reasoning is the recognition of those same things as seen mediately, or by the medium of an interposing idea. In all this there is nothing very unorthodox. Logic, to judge from the modern treatises, is impossible to define. The

common notion is that it treats of the formal laws of thought. But it is next to impossible to say what these formal laws are unless you first know what the mind is and does. Mental morphology, to use Mr. Bosanquet's term, cannot be separated from mental physiology. You can classify the shapes or forms of plants without much reference to their laws of life, but the forms of inference are the same as the mind's own essence. A philosopher who holds that truth shines on the mind as from a sun, which is the Divine nature, will have one idea of Logic; a speculator, whose only idea of knowledge is the repetition of physical or mechanical impact, will have a very different one. One school, believing in universals, will praise the syllogism; another, denying all but the particular, will hold the syllogism to be a fraud. The old scholastic division of mental operations into Notions (or Concepts), Judgments, and Reasonings, seems after all the most useful and satisfactory that has been suggested. One is not obliged to say that a Concept does not contain the germ of a Judgment, or to deny that Reasoning is only a Judgment developed into explicitness. The truth is that, apart from the impressions of the senses, which furnish the material part of knowledge, all reasoning, speculation, science, and philosophy is only a drawing out of what we already have within us. But such drawing out will not fail in giving us plenty to do as long as the world lasts. After that, what is called knowledge will be a different process. Mr. Bosanquet's book may be recommended as not only a steady and helpful effort to systematize logical theory, but as explaining and analyzing with great acuteness a large number of mental operations, whose names (at least) were unknown to the schoolmen.

Polybius. The History of the Achaean League, as contained in the Remains of Polybius. Edited, with introduction and notes, by W. W. CAPES, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

THIS will make a welcome addition to the library of the student of the Greek classics. The introduction, which gives us some account of the author and his work, and also of the Achaean League, is clear and interesting. The notes are everything that can be desired.

Goldsmith. Selected Poems. With introduction and notes by A. DOBSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

AN excellent addition to the series of English classics brought out by the Clarendon Press. The notes are copious and good.

Is One Religion as Good as Another? By the Rev. J. MACLAUGHLIN.
London: Burns & Oates.

WE are much gratified that Father MacLaughlin's opportune and excellent little book has passed into a second edition. This fact alone speaks well for it, and shows that it is doing the good work which its author intended. The numerous laudatory notices which it has received from various reviews, magazines, and papers testify to the value of this very useful publication. We notice that the author, in this second edition, has dropped the word "Indifferentism" on the title-page, and has retained only the words, "Is One Religion as Good as Another?" We think this is an improvement, and that the new title is, in its simplicity, more striking than the first, and more truly suggests what is the substance of the book. We again earnestly recommend this well-timed, useful, and forcible work. It appeals powerfully both to the intellect and to the will.

Jubilee-tide in Rome. By JOHN GEORGE COX. London:
Burns and Oates.

THIS elegant volume is a reproduction in book form of those interesting and sparkling letters which appeared, week after week, in the *Tablet* during the late festivities in Rome in honour of Pope Leo XIII.'s jubilee. Facing the title-page is a portrait of the Holy Father, exceedingly striking and full of power and character. At the end of the volume is appended a list of the English and Scottish pilgrims who visited Rome during these great festal days. Many persons will, no doubt, be glad to have these interesting letters preserved in a permanent form. This volume, besides being a handsome ornament to a drawing-room table, will be found full of attractive reading. Its pages sparkle with life and humour, and there is not a dull line in them. "Jubilee-tide in Rome" will no doubt often be chosen as a handsome and acceptable present in memory of pleasant and happy days spent in the Holy City during the Christmas of 1887 and the early days of the following year.

1. *Chaldea, from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria.* By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

2. *Assyria, from the Rise of the Empire to the Fall of Nineveh.* By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1888.

M. RAGOZIN'S two volumes form part of the series of popular histories published by Mr. Fisher Unwin under the general title of "The Story of the Nations." The first of them forms a kind of general introduction to the series, dealing as it does with some of

the earliest records of civilized communities. The two taken together relate the history of the peoples of the Euphrates valley down to the fall of Nineveh in the seventh century before Christ. M. Ragozin is, we believe, a French Orientalist, who has been for some years engaged in professorial work in America. There is little in his English style to betray the foreigner. On his title-page he quotes Carlyle and Emerson to the effect that history is poetry could we tell it aright, and he has certainly succeeded in making the obscure history of Chaldea and Assyria into an interesting narrative, full at times of the strange poetry which is to be gleaned from the fragments of the religious literature of these long-vanished nations. In a detailed review we should be inclined to challenge some points in M. Ragozin's account of the evolution of pagan religions; and we cannot always accept the view he takes of the points of contact between the Biblical narrative and the history of the great empires of the East; but, taken as a whole, the volumes before us deserve very high commendation. We know of no better works on the same subjects written in a popular style. They are not, of course, intended for specialists, but for the general reader they provide a clear and interesting summary of the results of modern research in a field in which some of the most interesting discoveries of our time have been made. The illustrations, chiefly reproductions of the monuments, are well chosen, and in most cases well engraved, and really help the reader to a better knowledge of the subject. We note this because the illustrations are the weak point of some of the previous volumes of this series.

Chronological Tables, a Synchronistic Arrangement of the Events of Ancient History. By the Rev. ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.
London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THIS is an arrangement in six parallel columns of ancient "Political History," "Jewish Church History," "Wars, Popular Movements, Catastrophes," "Biography and Topography," "Inventions, Discoveries, &c.," and "Laws, Literature, the Drama, Institutions." The divisions are unfortunately not always very clear. For instance, some of the events in the third column might equally well be placed in the first. We are warned in the preface that very little reliance is to be placed on many of the dates. The object chiefly held in view by the compiler appears to have been to show what events in Greece and Rome were contemporary with the incidents of Biblical history, and to give a general idea of the progress of the arts and sciences at various periods of antiquity. A little less detail and a simpler arrangement of the tables would have better secured these objects, but doubtless many students will find the tables useful as they stand for occasional consultation.

"Twelve English Statesmen" Series:—*William the Conqueror.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. *Henry the Second.* By MRS. J. R. GREEN. *Cardinal Wolsey.* By MANDELL CREIGHTON. *Oliver Cromwell.* By FREDERIC HARRISON. *William the Third.* By H. D. TRAILL. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THESE five volumes belong to a series of historical biographies which Messrs. Macmillan are publishing under the title of "Twelve English Statesmen." The idea of, as it were, focussing history in such a biographical series is a happy one. Events and scenes grouped round a striking central figure are to most minds of greater and more living interest than when they appear as episodes in a long historical narrative. The writers of these monographs have all earned a claim to be considered as authorities on the subjects with which they deal, and the historical figures selected for treatment are among those that stand foremost in our island story. Of the volumes before us Canon Creighton's "Wolsey" is in every way the most striking and interesting, Mr. Frederic Harrison's "Cromwell" the least satisfactory; but all are of a high order of merit, and the series is likely to be a very popular one.

Biographers can rarely resist the temptation to give the palm of superiority over all competitors to their hero for the time being. Mr. Freeman says of William the Conqueror:—

Stranger and conqueror, his deeds won him a right to a place on the roll of English statesmen, and no man that came after him has won a right to a higher place.

Canon Creighton, speaking of Wolsey, says that—

If we consider his actual achievements, we are bound to admit that he was probably the greatest political genius whom England has ever produced.

And Mr. Harrison describes Cromwell as "the greatest ruler this country ever had." As a contrast, and a welcome one, to these mutually contradictory exaggerations, we must note that Mr. Traill shows a judicial spirit in his estimate of William III. He says that Macaulay "over-painted both his kingcraft and his statesmanship," and, while paying a just tribute to all that was great in his character and reign, he does much to destroy the Whig legend which represents William as the founder of the British Constitution.

Elements of Physiological Psychology: A Treatise on the Activities and Nature of the Mind from the Experimental and Physical Point of View. By G. T. LADD, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. London: Longmans. 1887.

STUDENTS and teachers of philosophy who have not met with this important work will be glad to have it brought to their notice. It is, I believe, the only attempt that has ever been made

to sum up the results of the study of the mind from the experimental and physiological side. The investigations are described in full detail and irrespective of any bearing they may be thought to have on the spiritual and moral nature of man. This alone would make the book indispensable to all who are engaged in the study of this important part of philosophy. But it is the more valuable, because, after a careful survey of all that modern science can bring forward, the author concludes, I think irresistibly, that "physiological psychology cannot explain the entire being of the mind as arising out of the development of the physical germ from which the bodily members unfold themselves. It knows no decisive reason against the belief that such a non-material and real unit-being as the mind is, should exist in other relations than those which it sustains at present to the structure of the brain. On the contrary, it discloses certain phenomena which at least suggest and perhaps confirm the possibility of such existence for the mind." It will be seen that those who enter into controversy with materialists of the physiological school cannot afford to leave the evidence supplied by this work on one side. It is unfortunate that Prof. Ladd does not seem to be acquainted with the peripatetic doctrine as developed by St. Thomas, which seems most in harmony with modern natural science; if he has an hypothesis which he favours, it is the somewhat kindred one of Lotze. But this will make his facts all the more above suspicion when employed by Catholic philosophers; and in every other respect the book is one which can be most warmly recommended.

J. R. GASQUET.

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1. *Les Chevaliers de Malte et la Marine de Philippe II.* Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEU DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.
 2. *La Guerre de Chypre et la Bataille de Lépante.* Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEU DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

THESE two works are a continuation of Vice-Admiral de la Gravière's history of the naval struggle between the Christians and the Turks. Two former volumes, "*Doria et Barberousse*," and "*Les Corsaires Barbaresque et la Marine de Soliman le Grand*," have already been spoken of in high terms by this REVIEW. They showed how the Turks gained and kept the supremacy of the seas. The present volumes tell us how the infidels' career of victory was first checked at the siege of Malta, and afterwards turned into a rout at the battle of Lepanto. The Knights of St. John and St. Pius V. are the heroes of these momentous events. Whoever wishes to see how much Europe owes to the Popes and to the military orders, cannot do better than study Vice-Admiral de la Gravière's excellent histories.

T. B. S.

Les Marguerite Françaises: Les Saintes, les Reines, les Princesses, les Grandes Dames, les Femmes du Peuple. Par EDMOND STOFFLET.
Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

NEXT to Mary, no name has been so common among the French as Margaret. Struck by the part played in the history of his country by those who have borne this name, M. Stofflet has written a charming little narrative of their varying fortunes from the time of the Crusades to the end of the Revolution. He gives us some account of Margaret of Provence, wife of St. Louis, Margaret of Burgundy, Margaret of Flanders, Margaret of Anjou, Margaret of Navarre, Margaret of Valois, Margaret of Montmorency, Margaret of Lorraine, and other queens and princesses. Nor are the heroines of religion omitted, such as Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, Margaret de l'Isle, Margaret de Gondi, and Margaret de Vigier. Many "femmes du peuple," good and otherwise, are also briefly sketched. The reader will not fail to notice M. Stofflet's marked Legitimist bias.

T. B. S.

The Standard of Value. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN, F.R.G.S., Assoc. Inst. C.E. Fifth edition. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1888.

WHEN Mr. Jordan first published this work he was accused of attempting to revive the defunct controversy on Bimetallism. He now points with triumph to the fact that the "defunct controversy" has since formed the subject of a Royal Commission, whose final report is about to be published. His arguments in favour of a double standard are clearly and forcibly stated. But the book as a whole is chaotic, the numerous prefaces occupying one-half of the total number of pages. Perhaps the best chapter is that on "The Pound Sterling."

T. B. S.

A Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada from the Earliest Period to the year 1888; including the British North America Act, 1867; and a Digest of Judicial Decisions on Questions of Legislative Jurisdiction. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada. Montreal: Dawson Brothers. 1888.

THE Fisheries dispute between Canada and the United States is drawing attention to the powers and the working of the Canadian Constitution. The double system of Home Rule—Home Rule of the whole Dominion as against the Imperial Government, and Home Rule of each province as against the Dominion Government—is little understood on our own side of the Atlantic. Dr. Bourinot's admirable manual gives a clear and concise account of the complex

arrangements under which men of various races and religions are enabled to dwell harmoniously together. It should be carefully studied by all who are interested in Home Rule and Imperial Confederation.

T. B. S.

The New Social Order. By JOHN FORDYCE, M.A. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

MR. FORDYCE'S aim in this little work is to make it plain to his readers "that we owe all that is noblest and most hopeful in modern civilization to the grace and truth and love that are manifested to man in Christ." He treats of the moral condition of the ancient pagan world, the new ideal of manhood, the emancipation of woman, the Christian family, and the dignity of labour. It is a pity that he has not noticed the important part played by the Blessed Virgin in the civilizing influences of Christianity. Mr. Loring Brace, whose book he quotes very freely, was careful not to overlook this point. However, we must thank Mr. Fordyce for his spirited protest against the pessimism now so widespread.

Pessimistic guides [he says] point us back to pagan life as their ideal of life, and, if they had their way, the world would once more be what it was in the days of St. Paul, without God, without hope, and without love. Hence, the importance of not only clinging to the early Christian ideals, but of clinging to their ever-living and ever-creative source. The future of the race will depend ultimately, as of old, on the relation of man to the Christ of history. The ancient pagan world tried to live without God, without hope, without inspiration from the consciousness of the Eternal in and around men, and we know what was the result. Brilliant teachers and leaders of our time are trying the same sad experiment, and, but for the fact that higher forces are at work in and around them, the same disastrous results would be again witnessed. According to the poet, "the good, the true, the pure, the just" need the charm of "for ever" to give them full and perfect *vitality*. The ideals, principles, and truths that were so powerful in earlier days are still full of power, but they require to be associated now, as they were associated then, with the living Christ. In order to work for man's highest welfare, and in order to have faith in the ultimate success of our efforts, we must believe in the existence, energy, and ever-loving co-operation of the Divine Worker, whose are the triumphs of the past, and whose are the still more glorious hopes and triumphs of the golden future (pp. 167-168).

T. B. S.

Prosperity or Pauperism ? Physical, Industrial and Technical Training. Edited by the EARL OF MEATH (LORD BRABAZON). London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

THIS book appears most opportunely—on the eve of important educational reforms. It is almost universally admitted that the present system is turning out a generation with well-filled minds

and empty stomachs. Lord Meath would insist "that our young men and maidens may start in life with healthy bodies, with a knowledge of *things* as well as books, with a power of using their *hands* as well as their heads, and of making the most of small resources." In the present volume he has collected together a number of articles and reviews contributed by himself, Sir Philip Magnus, Prof. Huxley, Lord Hartington, and others, to the chief periodicals of the day. If England is not to be beaten out of her own markets we must at once take up vigorously the promotion of physical and technical training. Our most formidable opponents are the best educated people.

"Germany thirty years ago, as compared with England, was simply nowhere; but placing English and German workshops side by side now, we should find that the progress in the latter has been positively marvellous. During all these years the Germans had been following the English step by step, importing their machinery and tools, and engaging, when they could, the best men from the best shops, copying their methods of work and the organization of their industries; but besides this, they had devoted special attention to a matter which England had almost ignored—the scientific or technical instruction of their own people. And what has been the result of all this? They have reached a point at which they have little to learn from the English" ("Royal Commission on Technical Instruction," vol. i. p. 335).

Perhaps the most interesting paper in the whole collection is that contributed by Miss Chapman on the *Slöjd*, or hand-work system, as practised in Sweden. The main object of *Slöjd* is not the teaching of any trade, but the development of the faculties and the acquiring of general dexterity.

T. B. S.

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1. *The Philosophy of Law*. By IMMANUEL KANT. Translated from the German by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1887.
 2. *Outlines of the Science of Jurisprudence*. Translated and edited from the Juristic Encyclopædias of PUCHTA, FRIEDLÄNDER, FALCK, and AHRENS. By W. HASTIE. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1887.

MR. HASTIE believes that, as in philosophy generally, so also in the philosophy of law, we must go back to Kant. He has, in these two volumes, performed the difficult task of translator with great success, and his introductions are valuable contributions to the history and bibliography of jurisprudence. We demur, however, to his treatment of the German word *Recht*, which he invariably renders by the English *Right*. *Recht* has two, or rather three, meanings—right, an individual right, and law. Such expressions as "the science of right," "natural right," are misleading. But, while we

are grateful to Mr. Hastie for his labours, we cannot help endorsing Austin's opinion of the German jurists: "It is really lamentable that the instructive and admirable books which many of the German jurists have certainly produced should be rendered inaccessible, or extremely difficult of access, by the thick coat of obscuring jargon with which they have wantonly incrustated their necessarily difficult science" ("Jurisprudence," p. 738).

T. B. S.

L'Abbé Maury. Par Mgr. RICARD. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

THE leaders in a lost cause are generally doomed to oblivion. When the National Assembly of 1789 is spoken of we at once think of the great tribune Mirabeau. His foremost antagonist, Maury, before whose fervent eloquence and biting repartees even he sometimes quailed, is now almost forgotten. Mgr. Ricard has done well to preserve, or rather to revive, the memory of this most powerful defender of the throne and the altar. Maury's life was indeed most eventful. Born in a little village near Avignon, the son of a shoemaker, he raised himself by his brilliant talents to be the King's Preacher and member of the Academy. The clergy of Péronne elected him as their representative in the Assembly, where his courage and oratorical powers soon gained him the perilous position of spokesman of the Royalist party. He stood manfully by the King long after the cowardly flight of the *émigrés*, and was unmoved by the alternate threats and blandishments of the revolutionists. It was not till the very end of 1791, when further resistance was useless, that he yielded to the request of Pius VII. and quitted Paris for Rome. Mgr. Ricard gives us many vivid descriptions of the contests between the tribune and the abbé, and of the hairbreadth escapes of the latter from the fury of the Sansculottes. But, while we admire the bravery and ability of Maury, we must not forget that his latter days were unworthy of his early promise. His career as cardinal does not fall within the scope of the present work, but will, we are glad to hear, form the subject of another volume from Mgr. Ricard's pen.

T. B. SCANNELL.

Specimina palaeographica Regestorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III. ad Urbanum V. Romae: ex Archivo Vaticano. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

THIS was the literary gift presented to the Holy Father on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee by the officials of the Vatican Archives. The congratulatory address is contributed by Cardinal Hergenroether, and the work of the palaeographical specimens by another German, Father Denifle, O.P., who has established a European

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I I

reputation as a palæographer of the first order. The present work contains no fewer than sixty-four plates in heliotype, showing the phases of writing in the registers, which are explained in forty-four pages of letterpress. It is a costly volume, superbly printed, and the more valuable that only 250 copies were printed. The value of Father Denifle's explanation of the styles of writing and other important data afforded by the material forms of these Papal documents can scarcely be exaggerated; to students of Church history it will prove of the first importance.

Leons X. Pontificis Maximi Regesta, gloriosis auspiciis Leonis P.P. XIII. feliciter regnantis e tabularii Vaticani manuscriptis voluminibus aliisque monumentis, collegit et edidit JOSEPHUS, S. R. E. Cardinalis HERGENROETHER. Fasciculi V.—VI. Friburgi: Herder. 1888.

HIS Eminence Cardinal Hergenroether perseveres, in spite of continued ill-health, with wonderful zeal in the great work of publishing the "Regesta of Leo X." We have before us the fifth and sixth instalments just published. They embrace pages 520–808, and contain no less than five thousand extracts from Vatican and other documents (No. 8244–13467), relating to a period from April 29, 1514, to the end of that year. Considering what is unquestionable—viz., that as the Cardinal approaches the period of the great Protestant revolution, the documents to be edited will increase in number, we may conjecture the extent of work yet before him. The present instalment of Regesta chiefly refer to Continental dioceses. Yet England receives a prominent share; and especially the documents on pages 524, 527, 543, 545, 553, 582, 589, 597, 601, 609, 641, 686, which are connected with ecclesiastical matters in England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be pointed out. They concern benefices, appeals to the Holy See, or the diplomatic relations between England and Rome. Students of ecclesiastical history will be grateful for these new fasciculi, and will wish the learned editor health and strength to complete his great undertaking.

BELLESHEIM.

An Explanatory Commentary on Esther. With four Appendices, by Professor PAULUS CASSEL, D.D., Berlin. Translated by Rev. AARON BERNSTEIN, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1888.

Old and New Testament Theology. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the German by Rev. T. GOADBY, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1888.

WE have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to these latest additions to the Foreign Theological Library. Dr. Cassel's "Esther" is a valuable comment on a book which has but few good commentators. The author's deep reading in Hebrew

literature enables him to do justice to a book which of all others is Hebrew of the Hebrews. He has added a translation of the second Targum and some valuable essays on Mithra-worship, Zoroaster, and the Winged Bulls of Persepolis. Dr. Cassel identifies Ahasuerus with Xerxes, but whether Vashti or Esther is the Amestris of Herodotus he does not state. On the delicate question of Esther's age when she first found favour in the king's eyes, it is curious to find that Rabbinic commentators make her out to have been seventy-four, because that is the numerical value of the Hebrew letters which form her name. The omission of the name of God in the Hebrew portion of the book is explained by politic reasons in connection with Mithra, with whom the Persian king was identified in popular repute.

Dr. Ewald's "*Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*," from which the second book is taken, is valuable as the expression of a deep and sincere Biblical scholar's faith derived from the Bible and the Bible only. It is a lesson to some of the less distinguished scholars of our time, who so lightly reject what the great Ewald believed.

The Biblical Illustrator. By REV. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. *St Mark.* London: James Nisbet & Co.

The Homiletic Magazine. Vol. XVIII. January to June 1888. London: Nisbet & Co.

St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 1888.

The Philosophy of the New Birth. By JOHN EDWIN BRIGG, Vicar of Hepworth. London: Nisbet & Co.

MR. EXELL'S book is a marvel of condensation—more than seven hundred pages of closely printed matter. It is a perfect homiletic library on St. Mark's Gospel. The *Homiletic Magazine* keeps well up to its high standard of excellence. Many of the papers in the theological section are remarkably able. The sermon sketches are brief and suggestive. We are glad to find that Mr. Evans is engaged in more useful work than trying to prove that St. Paul wrote the last verses of St. Mark's Gospel. His defence of St. John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel seems to us the best treatise that he has written. One great point in his argument is that the writer of the Apocalypse was also the writer of the Gospel. It may be thought that Mr. Evans makes a little too sure that St. John's authorship of the Apocalypse is beyond question. Mr. Evans makes a strong case of the arguments which favour his conclusion, but fails to give sufficient weight to what is urged on the other side. Mr. Brigg's little book on the New Birth is somewhat in the style of Professor Drummond's *Natural Law* in the spiritual world. Analogies between Nature and Grace are very beautifully drawn out, but their value is imaginative rather than argumentative.

Messianic Prophecy, the Prediction of the Fulfilment of Redemption through the Messiah. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1886.

WE quite believe the learned author when he tells us in his preface that he has devoted many years of study to the preparation of this work, and that it has cost him more labour than all other topics combined. The special value of the work lies in the fact that it is a defence of Messianic Prophecy, by one who is well versed in modern criticism, and is able to make use of its methods for the defence of truth.

The fires of criticism [he says (p. 4)] consume the hay, straw, and stubble of human conceits and inventions which sprang from false methods of interpretation and preconceived theories of what prophecy ought to be. But all that is really valuable abides the test and rises in majesty above the ashes of human traditions.

After an able discussion of the nature and forms of Prophecy, the learned author examines in detail and in chronological order the Messianic passages from the Protoevangelium in Genesis to Malachi. We remark that in the blessing of Judah (Gen. xlix.) Dr. Briggs prefers the rendering, "until that which belongs to him comes," meaning the promised land. In accord with most modern scholars he attributes the second part of Isaiah to a later prophet during the Captivity. In regard to Daniel, he seems to us to concede too much to modern scepticism by surrendering the position that Daniel was himself the author of the book, and simply claiming that the book is a compilation of stories and visions relating to Daniel, edited by a later writer, probably in the Maccabean age.

History of the People of Israel till the Time of King David. By ERNEST RÉNAN. London: Chapman & Hall. 1888.

WITH M. Rénan and his works we can have no sympathy. Our notice of this translation must therefore be brief. The character of Scripture history as told by M. Rénan is best explained in his own words:

We do not need to know in histories of this kind how things happened; it is sufficient for us to know how they *might have* happened. Every phrase should be accompanied by a *perhaps* (p. xvii.).

We may select one amusing illustration of the author's dogmatism, in which he admits no "perhaps."

Handwriting [he says (p. 155, note)] was not known in Israel till three or four hundred years after the time of Moses and Joshua. The ages which do not possess handwriting transmit only fables.

That M. Rénan should take a malicious pleasure in libelling King

David was of course to be expected from his treatment of the Son of David. After M. Rénan has done all he can to destroy faith in the Bible, it is refreshing to find him saying in his preface that "the Bible is, whatever may be said, the great book of consolation for humanity. It is by no means impossible that the world, tired out by the constant bankruptcy of liberalism, will once more become Jewish and Christian." The translation is well done and reads well. To those who know M. Rénan's French this will appear the highest praise. One piece of criticism we cannot refrain from. The author styles David "the sacred *chorège*." The translator appends the following note: "The *chorège* among the Greeks was the person who found money for spectacles!" Would it not be well for the translator to buy himself a pair?

The Expositor's Bible. The Epistle to the Hebrews. By T. C. EDWARDS, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

LIKE most of the Expositor Series, this commentary is good of its kind. It is not critical, nor is it meant for the more advanced class of biblical students. The aim of the writer is mainly to trace the unity of thought and connection of ideas in this most difficult epistle. Dr. Edwards does not discuss the question of authorship, but simply states his conviction that St. Paul is neither the actual author or originator of the treatise. Dr. Edwards, as might be expected in a Protestant expositor, fails to comprehend the priesthood according to the order of Melchisedech. His comment on xiii. 10 is a perfect travesty. In the eleventh chapter of the epistle, Dr. Edwards sees a suggestion of the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence, and quotes Wordsworth's beautiful lines: "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting." He is surely mistaken in confounding this with Traducianism, for which a verse in an earlier chapter (vii. 10) is sometimes quoted as an evidence.

A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch, with an Introductory Chapter on the Poetry, Humour and Literary History of the Scottish Language, and an Appendix of Scottish Proverbs. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D. London: Whittaker & Co. 1888.

THERE are a good many clever people who are deterred from reading Scott and Burns, or even Mrs. Oliphant and Dean Ramsay, by the trouble they find in readily following the Scottish dialect. Dr. Mackay comes to their assistance with a handsome and complete manual of Lowland Scotch. Whether it will do much good in this direction or not—for when you want to get on with a story, it is poor comfort to know you can find your word in a dictionary—

it is at all events a very interesting compilation. Most people now know that Scotch is a dialect of English. Dr. Mackay seems to contradict this. He says, "The strange mistake . . . prevails to a large extent . . . that Scotch is a provincial dialect of the English, like that of Lancashire or Yorkshire" (p. 5). What does Dr. Mackay think Lancashire or Yorkshire is? Or what does he think English is? "English and Lowland Scotch," he says, "were originally the same." But when? In King Alfred's time? Or in Chaucer's? Or King James the Fifth's? The truth is, the Scotch of William Dunbar is about as different from, and as like, the English of Chaucer, as that of Chaucer was different from, and like, contemporary Devonshire or Yorkshire. Dr. Mackay's Introduction will be considered unscientific in these days of comparative philology. But he is very amusing, and his glossary is fairly complete. But we do not think, "mad as a hatter," is really a phonetic corruption of "mad as a cataract;" or that the truth about "mare's nest" lies between *mearachd nathaist* and *mearachd snasta*; or that "grog" has no connection with Admiral Vernon's grogram jacket, but is really the Gaelic word "croc." These things may be so, but we do not believe it.

Addresses. By EDWARD THRING, Head Master of Uppingham School, 1853-1887. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

Poems and Translations. Same Author and Publisher.

Uppingham School Songs and Borth Lyrics. Same Author and Publisher.

OF these dainty little volumes the "Poems and Translations," and the "School Songs, &c." will appeal most directly to those who were acquainted with Uppingham and its accomplished late Head Master; but the "Addresses" will deserve attention from a larger public; embodying as they do the practical thoughts of an eminently successful teacher, after an experience of more than thirty years. Of the seven addresses, one was delivered before the Education Society, another in the University of Cambridge, a third at the Leamington High School for Girls, and each and all before audiences specially interested in teaching. They are marked by a strong and impressive personality, and by the eloquence which is born of earnestness.

Mr. Thring pleads almost passionately for the teachers "liberty to teach," and is a deadly enemy to the red tape officialism of examinations. He says:—

Teaching and examinations are deadly enemies, as soon as examinations *cramp the liberty necessary for teaching*. Where examinations reign, every novelty in training, every original advance, every new method of dealing with mind, becomes at once simply impossible. It is outside the prescribed area, and does not pay. . . . The Inspector destroys teaching,

because he is bound by law and necessity to examine according to a given pattern; and the perfection of teaching is, that it does not work by a given pattern. . . . The minds of the class cannot be produced as specimens on a board, with a pin stuck through them like beetles. Shoving in the regulation quantity is one thing; clearing the stuff out of the bewildered brain, and strengthening the mind, is another; and the two are foes.

The "Addresses" were selected and sent to the publisher by Mr. Thring, only a few days before his fatal illness. The sincerity of their conviction and fulness of suggestive thought commend them, and will make them helpful to those engaged in teaching.

The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming. By ROWLAND E. PROTHERO. London: Longmans & Co. 1888.

THE command of a terse and lucid style enables Mr. Prothero to compress a vast mass of information within the compass of a handy volume, which may be read with pleasure, not only by experts, but by all those less directly interested in a subject of supreme national importance. The history of land tenure, and the successive agricultural revolutions, which have affected rural society, are sketched with admirable clearness, but it is the chapters which deal with the present and immediate future of the land industry in this country to which readers will turn with the greatest curiosity. The author has, however, no heroic remedies, either legislative or social, to propose, and it is only in gradual adaptation to altered circumstances that he sees a hope for the future of English agriculture. Protection he regards as a will-o'-the-wisp, leading to apathy on the part of those who trust to it, but his arguments against it are mutually self-destructive. Thus, while in one page he denounces it as inapplicable to England, from its inevitable result in raising the price of food, he declares it in another to have proved a failure in France, exactly because it has not had that effect. But if an import duty of 5s. 3d. per quarter on wheat, and 25 francs per head on cattle, can be levied without any effect on the market, we have here, at least, an invaluable source of revenue in an impost for which nobody, as in the Jackdaw of Rheims, is "one penny the worse." If the producer is disappointed of his increased profit, the taxpayer, at least, gains relief at the expense of the foreigner.

Aus Welt und Kirche. Bilder und Skizzen. Zweite Auflage. Von Dr. FRANZ HETTINGER. II. Bände. Freiburg: Herder. 1888.

PROFESSOR HETTINGER, of Würzburg University, is favourably known to the Catholics of England. His celebrated book, on "Dante," one of the most thoughtful commentaries ever written on the "sommo poeta," is widely known in Father Sebastian Bowden's excel-

lent translation; his "Apology of Christianity" is now in course of translation into English; and his "Apologetik," or what the Schools term the "Demonstratio Christiana et Catholica," has just left the press in its second edition. Professor Hettinger is a theologian and philosopher; he has also a quick eye for the lessons of human life, the achievements of Christian art, and the wonders of nature. And it is in these latter characters that he composes these new volumes, which will be read with pleasure. The first volume is exclusively devoted to Italy, the main portion of it being claimed by the Eternal City. English priests who studied in Rome, will find the first volume peculiarly interesting. Professor Hettinger is, after Cardinals Reisach and Hergenröther, the best scholar produced in our day by the German College in Rome, and it is interesting to follow his reminiscences of Rome whilst he made his college course, and whilst, during the year 1868, he laboured in the preparation for the Vatican Council. His description of the theological studies in the German College is the best "Apology" of this institute, which deserved so well of the Catholic religion for three hundred years. We have also interesting sketches of Assisi, Siena, and of Fra Bernardino Ochina, the unfortunate General of the Capuchins, and an essay on the three graves in Ravenna. All these sketches are from the pen of a scholar who looks from the standpoints of supernatural faith on both the events of history and the beauties of nature. The second volume is concerned with Germany and France.

BELLESHEIM.

Israfel. By A. E. WAITE. London: E. W. ALLEN. 1886.

WE must confess that we have failed to fathom the meaning of this mystical volume, or even to learn from it what manner of being is the *Israfel* from whom it is entitled.

The Holy Angels. By the Rev. R. O'KENNEDY. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS is a treatise of 268 closely printed small octavo pages, embodying the scholastic angelology in the form of question and answer. Those readers who have not seen or cannot read St. Thomas will find here his view of the angelic natures and choirs. The serious and confiding manner in which the author accepts the realities of spirit-rapping, mesmerism, and magic is one of the charms of the book. The literary style is severely simple, as becomes a catechist, and the author's critical eye most indulgent. The book is exteriorly pretty in its get-up, with rich gold diaper pattern on cover, and an angel of the Protestant female type, without halo, on the cover.

G. C.

Select Recitations for Catholic Schools and Academies. Compiled by ELEANOR O'GRADY. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1887.

THIS may be recommended from among the numerous books of recitations, both because the collection is of pieces unobjectionable for a Catholic school and contains some distinctly Catholic compositions, and also because there is the freshness of novelty about it. Instead of the hackneyed pieces we are familiar with in English collections, this volume contains a good choice of less familiar things, and some recent American poems, many of them of merit.

Sonnets. By EMILY PFEIFFER. London : Field & Tuer.

THE public will welcome a republication of Mrs. Pfeiffer's sonnets, out of print since 1882, when they were destroyed, together with the entire six volumes of her poetry, in the fire at Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.'s establishment. Much of the present volume is, however, new, consisting of sonnets written since the date quoted, and of these we transcribe one on "Etna from the Straits of Messina," which is, in our judgment, the finest:—

Thou shinest in the morning's eye alone,
Pure on the blue, a pyramid of light,
Immaculate, but lifted to that height
By burning wrong and sorrow made thine own.
Fierce evils, outcast from a depth unknown,
Pour from thy open wounds by day and night,
And still thou standest silent, calm, and white,
While at thy feet the shallow waves make moan.

Martyr of mountains, shall I say the Christ,
Bearing earth's sorrows, for its trespass made
Sin, that her sons may reap the fair increase
Of smiling fields? The offering hath sufficed;
The olive thrives, since on thy head is laid
The fiery "chastisement" of Europe's "peace."

The Poet's Praise. By HENRY HAMILTON. New York : Putnam & Sons. 1887.

WE are glad to greet another volume of thoughtful and reflective verse by the author of "America," and to mark in it a distinct advance on his former work. The series of sonnets on great poets show considerable critical insight, combined with grace of expression.

A Life of David Hall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter and Norwich. By the Rev. GEORGE LEWIS, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

BISHOP HALL holds a minor place in English literature, and played a secondary part in the affairs of the Anglican Church in the days of the two first Stuarts. Some of his devotional treatises are still popular with devout Protestants, but his satirical poems, and most of his controversial writings, have passed into the limbo of books that are never read. His life has recently been written at some length by the Rev. George Lewis, who has at least one necessary qualification of a successful biographer, namely, a sincere admiration of his hero. The book is not one from which Catholic readers will gain either pleasure or profit. Bishop Hall had a fierce hatred for all things Catholic, and a double measure of hatred for the Jesuits. His biographer is a thoroughly staunch Protestant, who speaks of Catholics as Romanists, reproduces with occasional mild expressions of dissent some of Hall's bitterest insults against Catholicity, and especially gives expression to his agreement with his hero's unmeasured language against the Jesuits. The chapter on "Hall's moderation" is somewhat curious reading. His biographer lays special stress upon this as one of the chief qualities of the Bishop's mind, yet has to confess that it never stood in the way of his defending the persecution of the Catholics at home, and heaping the most exaggerated calumnies on the Catholics abroad, amongst whom he had more than once journeyed, apparently to very little purpose. He saw all things through a pair of English Protestant spectacles, and thus he came to write such moderate statements as these:—"What Papist in all Christendom hath ever been heard to pray daily with his family, or to sing but a psalm at home?" And again: "Who ever saw God's day duly kept in any city, village, household, under the jurisdiction of Rome?"

Plays and Poems. By ALBERT E. DRINKWATER. London: Griffith, Farran & Co. 1886.

THE attainment of a second edition marks a certain measure of success for this volume, and the short plays it contains are, perhaps, effective when acted, though they fail to give sufficient semblance of probability to satisfy the colder criticism of the study.

Through Dark to Light. By A. EUBULE-EVANS. London: Wyman & Sons. 1886.

THERE is considerable beauty both of thought and expression in the present volume of speculative musings, a form of writing which seems to harmonise with modern phases of thought. The long piece entitled the "Christ Picture," a religious poem, as its name implies, is very fine and noble.

Suggestive Lessons in Practical Life. Being Reading Books for School and Home. 1st Series, The Food we Eat. 2nd Series, The Clothes we Wear, The Homes we Build, &c. 3rd Series, The Fuel we Burn, The Metals we Smelt, &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

THESE three volumes of interesting, well-written, and well-illustrated lessons in most practical matters are a valuable addition to school or home reading-books. We are told that they are "designed to train the young to thoughtfulness and intelligence, through observation of the facts of the world's industry and skill," and we can scarcely imagine elementary books better adapted to effect this excellent purpose, beguiling the "wearisome bitterness of learning," and making reading a pleasure. Children who have gone through them with an intelligent teacher will know more about the marvels of art and mechanism, about nature's products, and the methods of changing them into food, fuel, utensils, &c., than many of their elders. The first series is adapted to Third and Fourth Standards, the second to the Fourth and Fifth Standards, and the third to the Fifth and Sixth Standards. We are glad to see that these volumes have been adopted by the London School Board.

The Church and the Roman Empire. By the Rev. ARTHUR CARR, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

THE object of this little volume is to show the relations between Christianity and the Roman Empire, and the external growth of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries. No epoch, to use Mr. Carr's words, has been more fruitful in great men and great events. The subject is one which even an unskilful pen could hardly rob of interest, and that our author is the selection of the learned editor of "Epochs of Church History" is a pledge of good writing and able treatment. The book in many respects is pleasant to read. Mr. Carr's style is always lucid; while, with his masterly grasp of the political situation, he dettly puts his readers in possession of the main threads that run through the immense and intricate imperial web which covered the then civilized world. Diocletian's new departure in statesmanship, the multiplication and rapid succession of emperors, civil and foreign wars, and other portentous events, stand out in these pages—to smallest forms reduced, and though without number, yet at large. The lightly outlined portraits of single characters, like Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzen, are so many admirable miniatures. But here our praise must end. The religious side of the question is not approached with that absence of bias which makes Mr. Carr so trustworthy and sure-footed a guide in matters non-religious. He starts with the assumption, natural in a member of the Established Church, that Christianity has no divinely appointed visible head on earth. This assumption is maintained throughout the work, and affects his appreciation of every ecclesiastical incident.

If the Pope can be kept out of sight, so much the better: if his presence is revealed by some conciliar canon which supposes his supremacy, the canon is pronounced dangerous; if in some imperial decree, then there is evidence of papal influence over a feeble mind. If the supremacy makes itself felt unmistakably, then it is due to Rome's old political or present geographical position, or to "growth of jurisdiction"—to anything rather than to the Petrine commission. Hence a hazy view of Christianity—"the shape which breathed into every movement, and in reality shaped results." Hence, again, the indefiniteness of the shape or mould itself, and the looseness of the pieces of which it is composed. Hence also we meet with passages like the following: "The great stress of Leo's policy was directed to establish this principle [the supremacy of the See of Rome], which appeared necessary for the unity of Christendom. The experience of after-ages has shown the need of limiting and guarding such a principle; but at this epoch the sentiment of unity was forced upon the Church by the imperial idea, while the sentiment of unity, combined with autonomy of separate Churches, had not presented itself as conceivable. The contest which Leo sustained in defence of the Catholic faith deservedly gave a prestige to the See of Rome, which *in his time*, and afterwards, was upheld by far more questionable means." We don't understand the words which we have italicized. "At the special epoch when it occurred the strength and unity which his powerful intellect achieved for the Church were undoubtedly needed. . . . Nearly [1200] years were granted to the new empire to complete and develop the statesmanship of Leo; and when the break in the unity occurred, it was the Roman See, and not the Church of Christ, who was impaired." This is a sample of the views which, to our regret, prevent us from recommending Mr. Carr's book unreservedly.

Master Thaddeus; or, the Last Foray in Lithuania. By ADAM MICKIEWICZ. Translated from the Original by MAUDE ASHURST BIGGS; with a Preface by W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

THOUGH the Polish language is still spoken by nearly ten millions of people, its literature is sealed from most of the nation. The translator of a slighter poem, "Konrad Wallenrod," has now translated the greatest work of the foremost poet of Poland is Adam Mickiewicz, who died, after his exiled life, in 1855. "Master Thaddeus" is to Polish the pride and ornament of the original literature—what the "Nieblungen Lied" is to Germany, the "Divina Comedia" to Italy, or "Don Quixote" to Spain. It is called a historical epic, and its scene is laid before the invasion of Russia by Napoleon in 1812. But its home scenes go far to give us rather the position of a very earnest historical novel; for it abounds in graphic pictures of everything Polish—from breakfasts and mushroom hunts to Polonaises and betrothal feasts, and gar-

dens, with their cucumbers and hedges, their geese and peacocks. We hear of the figures of the Three Kings, drawn by boys through the streets on the Epiphany; and the salutation at the threshold of the house also reminds us that we are in one of the few faithful lands "O, may Jesus Christ be praised!" says the entering guests, and the voice within answers, "For ever and ever, amen!" As an example of the style in which the rhyming lines of the original are rendered into blank verse, we may take the old Polish legends of the stars, probably first derived from a Rabbinical source:—

The two scales of the heavenly Balance
Shine further on. The Lord, upon the day
Of the creation, as our old men tell,
Weighed all the planets, and the earth in turn,
Upon them, ere into the deeps of space
He launched their weights. The golden Balance then
He hung in heaven; therefrom men received
The model of their scales and balances.
Toward the north the starry circle shines
Of that famed Sieve,* through which the Lord, they say,
The rye-grains sifted, which from heaven he threw
To father Adam, banished from the garden
Of pleasure for his sin.

A little higher
Stands David's chariot,† ready for career,
Its long beam pointing to the Polar star.
The ancient Litvins of this chariot knew
That common people wrongly called it David's;
It is an angel's car. In it, ere time,
Rode Lucifer, when he defied the Lord,
And rode on headlong by the Milky Way¹
To heaven's threshold, until Michael hurled him
Down from his car, and cast it from the road.
Now broken doth it roll among the stars;
The Archangel Michael suffers not repair.
And this too know we from the old Litvini;
But they, no doubt, first learned it from the Rabbins.
That Dragon of the Zodaic, long and great,
Who winds his starry folds across the sky,
Whom sages wrongly have the serpent called,
No snake is, but a fish, Leviathan.
Ere time he dwelt within the seas, but after
The Deluge from the lack of water died.
So angels hung him on the vault of heaven,
Partly for his strange figure, and in part
As a remembrance.

This painstaking translation is an addition to English literature. Since we know more of Poland's historical griefs and struggles than of her homesteads and inner life, it gives us new views and happier pictures, to throw out into further relief our former knowledge of the nation's sufferings.

* *Corona Borealis*.

† *Ursa Major*.

1. *Elements of Analytic Geometry.* By JOSEPH BAYMA, S.J. San Francisco: A. Waldteufel. 1887.
2. *A Treatise on Analytical Statics.* By J. TODHUNTER, M.A., F.R.S. Edited by J. D. EVERETT, M.A., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE author of the first of these works, Father Bayma, of Santa Clara College in California, has taken great pains to bring together the most important investigations in analytic geometry in a very clear and elementary form. We may point out some predominant features, which give to this book advantages that many voluminous and learned treatises do not possess. (1.) The greater part of the solutions are explained and proved in the form of problems. This method will direct and assist the student in solving other problems in a similar way, if a more complete course is required. (2.) Only a small amount of knowledge of trigonometry is necessary for the student in order to understand the proofs, and to discuss the equations. (3.) A considerable number of diagrams greatly assist the student to grasp the truth almost intuitively, with little algebraical demonstration. (4.) The well-chosen examples with numerical values will give the student much clearer and more precise notions than complicated generalizations with algebraical figures.

If the author had added a few hints and problems in reference to applications in astronomy, acoustics, reflection of light, radiation of heat, he would not only have increased the interest, but also shown the utility of analytic geometry for applied science.

The appendix, containing tables of logarithms of natural numbers and of circular functions, greatly increases the value of the book. The addition of a short table containing some natural trigonometric functions might have made it still more valuable.

Todhunter's "*Treatise on Analytic Statics*" is an excellent manual in the hands of a student who has plenty of time to devote to pure science and mathematics. The author has not spared any trouble in arranging the material, not only in a very clear order, but also so as to explain and to prove it in a strictly scientific form. The reader of this work is expected to have gone through a considerable amount of trigonometry and higher mathematics in order to follow the reasoning. We must bear in mind, however, that the number of students who love pure science and mathematics merely for the study's sake is exceedingly small. Like most of Todhunter's great works on advanced and higher mathematics, this book is too voluminous, and not practical enough for the requirements of the present day. It is impossible for any student to master such a large amount of theoretical work in order to be proficient in technology, which has now become far more important than pure book-learning. We hear over and over again the same complaints, which run somewhat as follows: "I cannot see any utility in higher mathematics. And yet I have to study 420 large pages on differentiation, about the same amount on

integration, 364 pages on analytical statics, and not much less on conic sections, and from beginning to end to master crowds of mystifying formulæ." Lamentations of this kind are heard not only from ordinary students, who have to finish their studies within a few years, but from more gifted ones and those who can afford time to study as long as they please. Considering the general outcry against big volumes filled with pure theory, this book would be by far more useful if a certain amount of less important proofs and problems were simplified or left out altogether and replaced by applications to practical purposes.

The get-up of both volumes is extremely neat and attractive.

F. LANDOLT.

"*Elementary Classics.*" *Cæsar's Gallic War*: Book VII. Edited by the Rev. J. BOND, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THIS is a thoroughly good and useful edition. The notes are to the point, and instructive throughout. Perhaps the most serviceable part of the book consists of the illustrations, for it is exceedingly difficult for a young student to follow the description of the siege of Ergovia, or to have a clear idea of what was meant by such devices as the *Lilium*, the *Itemales*, or the *Cippi superne visi*, without the aid of pictures. We cannot agree with the editors in saying that the *Allobroges* dwelt N. and N.W. of the Rhone—on the contrary, they lived S. and E. of that river: moreover, they dwelt N. and not S. of the *Isère*. This is a mere slip, and does not detract from the value of the book. The seventh book of "*Cæsar's Gallic War*" has been set this year for the London matriculation. We can heartily recommend this edition to the attention of candidates.

Women's Voices. By Mrs. WILLIAM SHARP. London: Walter Scott. 1887.

THIS pretty volume is a collection of specimens chosen with taste and judgment from the works of English poetesses in all ages. The list is a more extensive one than is generally supposed, and contains names little known to the general public, yet not unworthy to be preserved from oblivion by some such collective work as this. The volume is particularly adapted for a prize or gift-book, and its extremely moderate price ought to secure it large circulation.

Ethel's Book; or, Tales of the Angels. By FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER, D.D. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

OF this new edition of an old favourite, too well known to need commendation, we may mention that it is well got up, in style suitable for a gift-book or for the drawing-room table, with clear type, good paper, gilt edges, and wide margins.

St. Paul in Athens. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co.

THIS is "a monograph on Athens in connection with its one scriptural episode." Four chapters are taken up with a description of the city and its inhabitants as they appeared to St. Paul, and four "extract the spirit" of the Discourse on the Areopagus. The author is happier in the former task than in the latter, the chapter on the "God of Grace" in particular being lamentably deficient in unction and definiteness. The work is written in a fervid style, that at times is diffuse and wearisome, and, though there are occasionally vivid and interesting descriptions in it, it throws no new light on the Sacred Text. Dr. Macduff is evidently of the belligerent order of Low Churchmen who have received their "sacred trust" from "the Fathers and Martyrs of our English Reformation," and who have no "bigoted credence in the supposed charm of Apostolic succession" (p. 213). We are not, therefore, surprised that he should see in the *superstitions* of the Court of the Areopagus the "prototype of the Romish Inquisition" (p. 50). It is interesting to learn (p. 217) that "the great Apostle has true 'Apostolic successors,' though it may be *subsidized*, still at work" in Athens!

Wishes on Wings: a Roundabout Story. By F. S. D. AMES. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS story opens in a manner to interest the reader in the fate of a selfish and spoiled girl, who bears adversity with a very bad grace. Presently, however, she falls into a sort of trance, and is carried away by fairies, goes to India, learns the lesson of her life, and profits by it so speedily, that, awakening at home, she is a reformed character. The art of this device is poorly done, and spoils the story. As to its effect, if it should affect the young reader's moral sense and mind, it would probably be the unwholesome lesson that you are what you are till influences outside you take your morals in hand. "Inside the Gate," a second story not mentioned in the title page, is far the better one of the two, although somewhat sentimental.

The Church and the Age. By Very Rev. I. T. HECKER. New York : Office of *Catholic World*.

THIS handsome volume is a reprint of twelve articles that have already appeared at intervals in the *Catholic World*. Their main purpose is to prove that the Church is not, as is commonly supposed among non-Catholics, an enemy to personal freedom and independence of action rightly understood, but rather their greatest bulwark and defence. Needless to say, their style is marked by all the vigour and confidence that distinguish the author's other works. May we express the opinion that a work of this kind would have more force for good if it were fortified with the *imprimatur* of responsible authority.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. *Sidney.* By J. A. SYMONDS. London : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

MR. SYMONDS' critical and biographical sketch of Sir Philip Sidney leaves little to be desired in the way of completeness ; still it leaves unsolved, perhaps necessarily, the problem suggested by the hero's life, the secret, namely, of the influence exerted by him from a comparatively early age, over the minds of his contemporaries. His personal equation, to use the slang of modern philosophy, seems to have been out of all proportion to the estimate which we should form of him, judging him merely by the work that survives him. His fate is in this respect the reverse of Shakespeare's, whose name, obscure and unhonoured in his lifetime, seems to posterity to irradiate with its lustre the whole age of Elizabeth.

The Praises of Heroes. By T. B. A. London : Burns & Oates.

THIS volume should be of special interest to Catholic readers, as it consists of a series of short narratives of the deaths of martyrs told in simple and generally flowing verse. There have been few, if any, attempts to popularize in this form the acts of the saints, although no nobler theme could be found for the inspiration of poetry.

A Soul's Comedy. By ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE. London : George Redway. 1887.

THE author of this volume has a rare gift in his command of powerful and lofty blank verse, but wants the dramatic power of representing human beings in their active relations towards each other. Hence his narrative is developed in a series rather of monologues than dialogues, in which previous action is detailed in a

retrospective form. A strong imagination enables him nevertheless to interest the reader in his characters, and to appeal successfully to that portion of the public whose taste lies in poetry of the speculative and philosophically religious school ; but a morbid choice of subject makes his poem painful and unhealthy reading.

Vaulin and other Verses. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. London : E. W. Allen. 1887.

THE author, who, in his preface and dedication, boldly avows his political bias, will probably be read with sentiments tinged with the same colouring medium. His patriotism is evidently genuine, and he certainly does not shrink from strong language in expressing it ; but is happier, it seems to us, when he seeks inspiration in historical or classical subjects, than in treating the more personally exciting topics of the present day.

Letters to Persons in Religion. (Vol. IV. of the works of S. FRANCIS DE SALES, translated into English by the Rev. HENRY BENEDICT MACKEY, O.S.B.) With Introduction by Bishop HEDLEY, and Facsimile of the Saint's Handwriting. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co. 1888.

IT is a pleasure to see Father Mackey's translation of the writings of S. Francis de Sales making progress. This last volume will be highly valued by a large circle of readers, because it makes accessible, for the first time in English, some of the most precious and characteristic letters of the Saint. The edition has another quality which still further enhances its value ; it is more authentic and easily consulted than even the French editions, thanks to the completeness given by Father Mackey in arranging, correcting, and editing. We cannot point to these advantages in better words than the concluding ones of Bishop Hedley's Introduction :

The division into six books will be found useful. All the letters to the Visitation are kept together, viz., in Books II. and III., and arranged according to date. Book I. contains letters previous to the founding of the Visitation ; Book IV., letters to persons outside the Visitation ; Book V., "general instructions" for the Visitation ; and Book VI., letters on various festivals. The Index and analysis will make it easy to find passages and subjects. Father Mackey has added one or two excellent paragraphs of introduction and explanation. He has, in many cases, put for the first time the real names of the persons to whom the letters are addressed. He has also corrected many dates and added others. The headings of the letters are by the translator himself, those found in the French editions being very often wrong or misleading. The book, therefore,

is much more than a mere translation. Father Mackey, in executing his task, has made use of all that minute knowledge of the life and writings of S. Francis of Sales, which many years of patient study have put him in possession of, and which we may expect to bear still more abundant fruit in the future if his life be spared.

The present choice of letters will be doubtless most esteemed by religious. It will be, as the Introduction remarks, an admirable manual of spiritual reading, "especially for those whose institute is modelled on the Visitation, or carries out the principle of mercy and compassion which lies at the root of all that S. Francis wished religious women to be." But we think it will be of scarcely less interest and value to all who seek counsel in the way of holiness. And emphatically those who have the "direction" of religious will find here many a hint and precious advice in the arduous task of guidance. It would be quite superfluous to mention the characteristics of S. Francis's method; every one will look for wisdom, sweetness, and the unction of a deeply loving heart, and will find them here. That the Saint was eminently practical is well known: take this instance from a letter to a Superior, chosen at random (p. 305):—

Sleep well: little by little you shall return to the six hours, since you desire it. To eat little, work hard, have much worry of mind, and refuse sleep to the body, is to try to get much work out of a horse which is in poor condition without feeding him up.

In recommending this volume the interesting introduction by Bishop Hedley cannot be passed over; it contains, in the writer's well-known lucid style, some preparatory remarks, thoughtful and suggestive, on the influence of S. Francis of Sales on the religious life, which the Bishop remarks "is far more deep and widespread than most people imagine." The designs of the Saint in his own first project of the Visitation Order, conceived in a spirit which he shared eminently with S. Vincent de Paul and S. Ignatius, and the modification of this in one way, leading to its abundant realization by God's providence in another, and also in numerous cognate Orders and Congregations, are excellently set forth. S. Francis de Sales, in his first project of the Visitation, S. Vincent de Paul, and Mary Ward, the foundress of the "English Virgins," mark the change in the social position of woman in modern society, and by their rules and spirit have consecrated it to new ideals of religious self-sacrifice. At the moment, as his lordship remarks, that S. Francis was taking steps to have his Institute approved at Rome, Mary Ward was in Rome also pleading her cause.

Mary Ward wanted to do away with canonical enclosure, to let her nuns go about the country like missionaries, to undertake the teaching of catechism, and to have all the convents of her Institute placed under one Mother-General. Her vision has been realized, in the Presentation, the Loretto Sisters, the Irish Sisters of Mercy, and those innumerable offshoots or modifications of these Orders which are even yet multiplying. S. Ignatius, in spite of the Pontifical privilege that his Order should never

have to govern nuns, is the patriarch of these active Orders, and has given them their statutes, their discipline, and their freedom for every charitable work. The devoted Congregations which I have called French, with their offshoots, have inherited the spirit of S. Francis of Sales. For example, the Constitutions of Père Eude's Institute are almost word for word those of the Visitation, although it is true that he has added one or two which S. Francis himself might have signed. The holy Doctor wished his daughters to "visit" the poor and sick. God has brought these poor and the sick to the very doors of their cells, under the very roof of their chapels. That loving sweetness and devoted sacrifice which were his characteristics are multiplied day by day, all the world over, wherever communities of white-robed nuns gather around them the miseries of nature, of misfortune, or of sin, and practice upon their alleviation the lessons which S. Francis of Sales dictated to the first daughters of the Visitation (Introd. p. xiii.).

Rituale Romanum, cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix. Editio prima post Typicam. Ratisbonæ, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati: F. Pustet. 1888.

THIS new and beautifully got-up edition of the "*Rituale Romanum*" deserves to be brought to the knowledge of the clergy. It is a most complete and handy edition, and bears a special authentication of the Sacred Congregation of Rites as entirely conforming to the highly approved "*Editio Typica*." The Appendix is quite noteworthy. It contains a large and useful collection of Blessings, Prayers, Instructions of the Congregation of Rites, &c. We may instance, as specimens, the Instruction of September 12, 1857, for a priest duplicating in places distant from one another; the Decree of July 1864 as to the Oil for Sanctuary Lamp; and a collection of the special Blessings of Scapulars, &c., belonging to various religious Orders, the right to use which priests not seldom obtain by privilege. This Appendix makes the present edition of the Ritual emphatically the edition for missionary priests: the excellence of type, printing and arrangement, and high approval of it in Rome, recommend it to all.

Britain's Early Faith. By W. H. ANDERDON, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

THE claim of the Anglican Church to identity with the Church in England before the Reformation is astounding enough; but words fail us when we attempt to describe our feelings on reading the leaflet, "*The Church of England never Roman Catholic*," issued by the Church Defence Association. Archbishop Benson and his suffragans cannot help seeing the awkwardness of deriving their doctrine and orders from Augustine of Canterbury, the emissary of Rome. We are now told that—

There was a British Church, represented by three of its bishops, at the

great Council held at Arles in A.D. 314. It was not until A.D. 597 that Augustine, the first missionary from Rome, sent by Gregory the Great, landed in England. The British bishops and clergy, though they had more than one conference with Augustine, were unable to agree upon common action with him, and eventually he confined his labours to the south and south-eastern districts of England. Augustine died in A.D. 606, and before a hundred years had passed there was little remaining to show that a Roman Christian had ever visited and taught in England. The true fathers of the Church of England were such men as Aidan and Finian, the former of whom was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne in A.D. 635.

It would be difficult to compress into such a small passage a greater number of instances of "suppressio veri" and suggestio falsi—to say nothing of the direct falsehood of the statement that no traces of the Roman origin remained. If anything is certain in English history it is that the great bulk of our institutions, especially the Church, has a Saxon and not a British origin. We may refer to such grave authorities as Canon Bright and Mr. Gardiner in proof of this. Philology, too, plainly condemns the theory of the Defence leaflet. No Anglican prelate can style himself a "bishop," or speak of West "minster" or York "minster," or exhort his hearers to give "alms," or "preach," or ordain "priests" and "deacons," without admitting the Roman origin of his Church. His tongue bewrayeth him. Dr. Morris says: "The introduction of Christianity about the end of the sixth century brought England into connection with Rome, and during the four following centuries a large number of Latin words became familiar to educated Englishmen. The words introduced into the language during this period were, for the most part, connected with the Church, its services and observances, as *ancor*, hermit (anachoreta), &c." (Historical English Grammar, p. 11).

But the habits of the Anglican controversialist are the same as when Cardinal Newman described them long ago. Without acknowledging himself beaten—no Briton ever does—the Anglican takes up a new position. "Well, at any rate, the British and Roman Churches were quite different." We might say *transeat*, or granted, for the sake of argument; but what has this to do with the continuity theory? Anglicanism does not claim to be merely a revival. However, the Catholic is able to dislodge his opponent even from this new position of fancied security. In "Britain's Early Faith" Father Anderdon plainly proves the "Romishness" of the ancient British Church. The relations between the early Popes and Britain, the conduct and doctrine of the British bishops at Arles, Nicæa, and Sardica, the influence of the Irish missionaries, the conferences between St. Augustine and the British Christians are all treated in that familiar and yet convincing style which has made Father Anderdon so famous as a controversialist. It is most important that English Catholics, while allowing that Disestablishment is an open question, should strenuously oppose the line of defence taken by the supporters of the Establishment.

T. B. S.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *Victories of the Martyrs.* By St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI. Edited by Rev. EUGENE GRIMM. Centenary edition. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers; London: R. Washbourne; Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.
2. *Manual of Prayers, with an Appendix.* London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
3. *The Catholic Prayer Book.* London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
4. *The Roman Hymnal.* Compiled by Rev. J. B. YOUNG, S.J. Fourth edition. New York, &c.: Fr. Pustet.
5. *Meditations on the Life and Virtues of St. Ignatius of Loyola.* Translated from the French by M. A. W. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
6. *Life and Martyrdom of St. Cecilia.* Translated from the ancient Acts. London: John Hodges. 1887.
7. *The New Manual Hymn-book.* London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
8. *Visits to Jesus in the Tabernacle.* London: Catholic Truth Society. 1888.
9. *Our Lady's Month.* Compiled by J. S. FLETCHER. London: Washbourne. 1887.
10. *Life of Blessed Father John Forrest, O.S.F.* By Rev. Father THADDEUS, O.S.F. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
11. *The Life of St. Winefride, Virgin and Martyr.* Edited by THOMAS SWIFT, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
12. *Stories for First Communicants.* By the Rev. Dr. J. A. KELLER. Translated by FRANCES A. KEMP. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.
13. *Ave Maris Stella: Meditations for the Month of Mary.* From the Italian of Canon AGOSTINO BERTEU, by M. HOPPER. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
14. *Instructions on the Commandments and Sacraments.* By St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI. Edited by Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.S.S.R. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.
15. *A Complete Novena for the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary* By Dom LOUIS-MARIE ROUVIER. English edition by the Carthusian Fathers, Parkminster. London: Burns & Oates 1888.

16. *A Thought from St. Vincent de Paul for each Day of the Year.* Translated from the French by FRANCES A. KEMP. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.
17. *Texts for Children.* By M. A. WARD. London: Burns & Oates.
18. *Corona Beatae Maris Virginis.* London: R. Washbourne. 1887.
19. *On the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.* By the BISHOP of SALFORD. London: Burns & Oates.
20. *Abridged Bible History.* By I. SCHUSTER, D.D. Translated from the German. Third edition. Freiburg, St. Louis, &c.: B. Herder. 1888.
21. *A Companion for the Members of the Association of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.* Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.
22. *A Treatise on True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.* By the Blessed GRIGNON DE MONTFORT. Translated by F. W. FABER, D.D. With preface by the BISHOP of SALFORD. Fourth edition. London: Burns & Oates.
23. *The Heart of St. Francis of Sales.* Edited by the Very Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.
24. *Maria Magnificata.* By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society.
25. *Six Sermons on Devotion to the Sacred Heart.* By Rev. EWALD BIERBAUM, D.D. Translated by Miss ELLA M'MAHON. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1888.

1. This, the ninth volume of the Centenary edition of the works of St. Alphonsus, issued by the American Fathers of his Congregation, completes the first series of the *Ascetical Works*—that is to say, those ascetical treatises which are suitable to the faithful in general. (The seventh and eighth volumes, comprising “The Glories of Mary,” have not yet reached us.) The holy Doctor wrote these “Lives of the Most Celebrated Martyrs of the Church” in his old age, after he had been released from the burden of the episcopate. The work is not well known in this country, but it deserves to be taken up and used by all. The Saint presents us with a series of detailed histories of the principal martyrs of the early Church, and of the Japanese martyrs of the seventeenth century. St. Alphonsus is strongly of opinion that one ought frequently to meditate on the sufferings of those who have died for Christ. He considered, as we gather from his own preface to this volume, that nothing could make the Christian life so serious, so thorough, and so devoted to God as the frequent contemplation of the heroic endurance of those whose earnestness was put to such terrible proof. We cannot do better than follow the counsels of such a spiritual guide. The book is well translated, and is enriched with many excellent notes, with a

prefatory notice by the editor, and with the reprint of a paper, from the *Month* of December 1885, on "Japan and the Holy See."

Referring to an observation made by us in the DUBLIN REVIEW for October 1889 (p. 489), it is only fair to state that the editor of this edition mentioned distinctly in his introduction to the first volume that he intended to use the late Bishop Coffin's translations. We regret that we had forgotten this; but it would in any case have been better to have added the Bishop's name on the title-page of such treatises as he has himself done.

2. Messrs. Burns & Oates send us a neat shilling Prayer-book, containing all the prayers of the Bishops' "Manual," together with devotions for Mass, Sacraments, &c.; altogether a complete and authentic book of devotion.

3. A small manual for Mass and the Sacraments. The Litany of our Lady is, in one slight instance, not printed according to the "Manual"—"Vessel of singular devotion" being given instead of "Singular vessel of devotion."

4. This is the fourth edition of a very full and useful Hymnal. Both Latin and English hymns are given, with the music, as well as Mass music, vespers, chants, &c. &c.

5. A skilful and loving hand has drawn up ten meditations, of considerable elaboration, in which the life and virtues of the holy Patriarch St. Ignatius are proposed to the contemplation of the soul, for the devotion of the "ten Sundays," or for a novena.

6. The "Acts of St. Cæcilia," here translated, are considered by De Rossi to have been compiled in the fifth century. The date of her martyrdom, which used to be placed under Septimius Severus in the third century, is now considered to be about A.D. 180, during the reign of M. Aurelius. The translation here given bears the *imprimatus* of the Cardinal Archbishop, and will be found easy and devotional. The "Acts" are extremely rich in striking passages, as may indeed be gathered from the brief excerpts which have been adopted in the Breviary office. A short postscript relates the interesting history of the discovery, translation, and re-discovery of her relics. The compiler might, perhaps, have mentioned that Venerable Bede states that the English St. Willibrord was consecrated, in 696, by Pope Sergius, in the Church of St. Cæcilia, though not, of course, on the present site of the great Trastevere basilica.

7. This brochure contains the hymns which are given in Messrs. Burns & Oates's issue of the "Manual of Prayers" noticed above.

8. About fifty brief "reflections," or meditations, for use in visiting the Most Holy Sacrament, based on Old Testament types and on our Lord's life and words; with the recommendation of the Bishop of Southwark.

9. This is a very pretty little book, and Mr. Fletcher has collected many pious things and distributed them throughout the "Month of Mary." But some will object to the introduction of extracts from non-Catholic writers, such as George Herbert, D. G. Rossetti, Longfellow, and even Byron. Such testimonies to Our

Lady's honour are most valuable, but are hardly in place in a devotional book.

10. Father Thaddeus has collected all that is known of the life and martyrdom of the Blessed John Forrest, burnt by King Henry VIII., in 1538. There are many interesting features in the book—for example, the denunciation of Henry VIII. to his face by Father Peto at Greenwich; the letter of Queen Catherine; and the account of the miraculous image from Darvell Gatheren, in North Wales, which was burnt in the same fire as the Blessed Martyr.

11. The Rev. Father Thomas Swift has here printed a translation of the two mediæval lives of St. Winefride now existing, together with many notes and much history and information regarding the miraculous well. A list of the best-known cures is given, the writer bringing his record down to 1886. The book contains the substance of the recently published account of St. Winefride in the first November volume of the Bollandists, and is a most useful and complete manual of all that relates to the *cultus* of the Holy Virgin and martyr.

12. This is another of Father Keller's devout story-books. As far as we can see, the stories are edifying and sensible. The translation is well executed, but there are one or two mistakes, such as "Queen of Orleans," "Almoner" (for "chaplain"), "community" (for "village"), &c.; and why has not St. Benedict Joseph Labre his title of Saint?

13. This is a pretty and devout "Month of Mary," bearing the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal-Archbishop. It contains one example of religious prudery which is amusing. St. Philip is made to say—speaking of some noisy young people—"Provided they do not commit sin I would allow them to chop wood near me." What he really said was, "I would allow them to chop wood on my back."

14. There are few more useful books than these "instructions" of St. Alphonsus on the Commandments and Sacraments. They should be in every catechist's hands, and they will prove of the greatest value to the intelligent laity. They form a complete course of moral theology, without casuistry, but with the addition of much exhortation and devotional matter. One or two notes should have been added before the book was published in these countries. For example, what the holy writer mentions in regard to excommunication in several places is inapplicable to present circumstances (see, for example, p. 165).

15. The learned and devout Carthusian, to whom we owe this book, insists strongly on the advantages of making novenas in honour of Our Lady. To enable the faithful to do this work with the greater fruit he has compiled a set of readings and prayers which are excellent and complete. Should not the version of the "Salve Regina," p. 203, have been made to conform to that authorized in the Bishops' manual? The sentences cited from the fathers at the end of the volume have unfortunately no references.

16. The "thoughts" from the sayings of St. Vincent de Paul are

full of instruction and of power. A great many of the extracts relate to the virtues required in priests and superiors.

17. A text for every day in the year, suitable for a child to get by heart. There is an interesting preface by the Rev. Father Gallwey, S.J.

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22. With regard to this handsome re-issue of a well-known spiritual book, we need only recall the words of the Bishop of Salford, and recommend every one to study it, "so as to experience personally the transformation it is capable of working in the soul" (p. 19).

23. We have here thirty-one considerations on the interior virtues of St. Francis de Sales, drawn chiefly from Père de la Rivière. The translation is fair, but "Spiritual Director" occurs three or four times for "Spiritual Directory." The Bishop of Annecy and the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster authorize the book.

24. These meditations on Our Lady's life are intended, we are told, for the month of May or October, or to accompany the recital of the "thirty days' " prayer. They are written in clear, forcible, and sometimes eloquent English, as we might expect from the Rev. Father Clarke.

25. Preached in Catholic Germany, these useful sermons on the Sacred Heart are presented to English readers in an easy and flowing translation. They are not particularly striking, and their matter and style are feeble in comparison with what we already have in the mother tongue on the great subject which they treat. But they present to the reader and the preacher a large number of useful reflections, passages of Scripture, and utterances of the German episcopate, and they are characterized by considerable fervour. These qualities, and their commendable clearness, will make them a useful addition to a spiritual library.

Record of Roman Documents.

ABSOLUTION FROM MASSES.—The great Hospital of Palermo dispensed from an obligation of paying £1760 due for Masses which ought to have been said; the hospital being very poor and in danger of being closed. (*S. Cong. Conc.*, June 18, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 7, 1888.

ALLOCUTION, Pontifical.—"Mirandum sane," protesting against the new Penal Code, at that time before the Italian Parliament. *Vid. Tablet*, June 16, 1888.

AVE MARIS STELLA.—An Indulgence of 300 days granted to all the faithful who recite the *Ave Maris Stella* with a contrite heart—to be gained once a day. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Jan. 27, 1888.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Aug. 1888. And *Tablet*, July 14, 1888.

BEATIFICATIONS.—The following are passing through the different processes :—

Diana de Andalo, professed nun of the Order of S. Dominic.

Fra Francesco da Napoli, professed priest of the Reformed Friars Minor.

Louis Chanel, Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania. *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 4, 1888.

Januarius Maria Sarnelli, professed priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

Fortunatus Redolfi, a Barnabite priest of Brescia.

Alexander Luzzago, patrician of Brescia.

BELGIAN COLLEGE.—The Holy Father grants £5000 to the Belgian College in Rome for the education free of all charge in perpetuity of seven Belgian youths of good character, aspiring to the priesthood. (July 18, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 11, 1888.

DECORATION—NEW PONTIFICAL, as a souvenir from the Holy Father for all who aided in any way the Vatican Exhibition. For Brief, bearing date June 17, 1888, *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 18, 1888.

DOLOURS, OUR LADY OF.—Plenary Indulgence granted on any one day (at choice) of September to the faithful performing daily during the month some devout exercise in honour of Our Lady of Dolours. Conditions as usual. Applicable to Souls in Purgatory. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Jan. 27, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 23, 1888.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER of the Holy Father upon Liberty, *Libertas*, laying down the true principles of Liberty, philosophical, theological, and political. (June 20, 1888.) For original version, *Vid. Tablet*, July 7, 1888, and *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July 1888. For authorized translation, *Vid. Tablet*, July 14, 1888.

INDULGENCES.—Vide November, *Ave Maris Stella*, Our Lady of Dolours, My God and my All.

IRELAND AND THE POPE.—Letter from the Holy Father, regretting the action taken in Ireland in reference to the decree from Rome upon Boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, and confirming the said Decree. (June 24, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, July 21, 1888, and *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Aug. 1888.

KNIGHTHOOD FOR WOMEN, ORDER OF.—Instituted by Special Brief (not yet published) as a decoration for women pronounced well deserving of the Holy See, who are to be called *Matrone del Santo-Sepolcro*. *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 25, 1888.

LEGACIES COMMUTED.—*Vid. Tablet*, July 28 and Aug. 4, 1888.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS.—For special dispensing faculties in diriment impediments to be exercised by the bishops in the case of those who are in danger of death (Feb. 20, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 11, 1888, and *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June 1888.

"MY GOD AND MY ALL." An Indulgence of fifty days, as often as the above is recited with contrite heart, was granted by Leo XIII., May 4, 1888. *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 11, 1888.

NOVEMBER, INDULGENCES FOR.—Indulgences granted to those who practise some special devotion for the souls of Purgatory during November: *Seven years*, &c., each day. *Plenary*, on any day of the month at choice. (*S. Cong. Ind. et S. Reliq.*, Jan. 17, 1888.) April 28, 1888.

PORTSMOUTH—PORTUS MAGNUS.—The official name of the Diocese of "Portsmouth" will for the future be "Portus Magnus," instead of "Portusmutensis," the former being a more correct rendering into Latin of the English word "Portsmouth." *S. C. de Prop. Fide*, Aug. 1, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 1, 1888.

REQUIEM—SOLEMN FOR SEPTEMBER.—The following decisions have been given in answer to doubts:—

The Requiem takes the place of the *Missa pro populo*, without further obligation.

The obligation of saying Mass corresponding to office of the day holds only in churches where office is celebrated in choir.

On more solemn Feasts (of the Titular or of the Dedication of the Church) it is sufficient to apply the Mass to the Dead. (*S. R. C.*, June 6, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, July 21, 1888.

STATUES made of *Carton-piedra* (*Carton-pierre*—a kind of paste-board) may be exposed for veneration; those made of *Carton Madera*, which is almost as hard as wood, may be indulgenced. (*S. R. C.*, Jan. 17, 1887, and *S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, April 1, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 18, 1888.

WILLS.—Money left for the salvation of one's soul may be lawfully devoted to pious purposes or to the poor. (*S. C. C.*, Dec. 12, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 18, 1888.



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